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The Politics of Ritual in Puebla de los Ángeles, Mexico, 1695-1775

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The Politics of Ritual in Puebla de los Ángeles, Mexico, 1695-1775

by

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The Politics of Ritual in Puebla de los Ángeles, Mexico, 1695-1775

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This dissertation examines the role of public ceremony in the political culture of eighteenth-century Puebla de los Ángeles, Mexico. The municipal government, or cabildo, of Puebla organized and attended a host of religious celebrations and also participated actively in events sponsored by other corporations, such as processions of supplication and inaugurations of new churches. In addition to these types of events, the cabildo mounted elaborate spectacles to commemorate rites of passage of members of the royal family, Spanish military victories, and inaugural entrances of viceroys. Through an examination of the cabildo's ceremonial obligations, this study sheds light on the multifaceted role of public spectacle in the political culture of an important, yet understudied, city.

In the eighteenth century, the Bourbon monarchy came to regard the continuous mounting of costly rituals as excessive and tangential to the practice of politics. Councilmen, however, resisted the Crown's intrusions into their ceremonial practices. This study contends that Puebla's leaders regarded the organization and presentation of public spectacle as an inseparable process in the creation of their locality's political

culture. Through ritual, councilmen legitimized colonialism and strengthened corporate, civic, and religious consciousness. Ritual, moreover, stimulated the local economy; the cabildo's ceremonial calendar and the extraordinary events for the royal family and viceroy demanded the purchasing of a variety of goods, and the labor of artisans and manual workers. Yet, while ritual could encourage solidarity and allow for the redistribution of capital, it also provided an arena for individual leaders and corporations to vie for power. In colonial Puebla, ritual constituted "real" political work.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On 3 February 1776, the newly established *Contaduría General de Propios y Arbitrios*, or general accounting office, sent the governing cabildo of Puebla de los Ángeles a set of rules for the administration of its municipal finances. In 1765, Charles III (1759-1788) had sent Visitor General José de Gálvez to New Spain to expedite the establishment of professional militias, see to the feasibility of creating new political jurisdictions, or Intendancies, and create a general accounting office to oversee municipal expenditure. The task of reforming the fiscal policies of the cabildo of Puebla would prove a lengthy and contentious task, but well-worth it given that Gálvez and other colonial administrators were in the process of establishing a professional militia in the city. All available resources were to be earmarked for purchasing uniforms for soldiers and for the erection of barracks. Viceroys the Marquis of Cruillas (1760-1766), the Marquis de Croix (1766-1771), and Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursua (1771-1779) insisted that the city pay for the majority of militia-related costs.

Cabildos used revenue from rents on buildings and rural property, as well as municipal taxes, to pay salaries, maintain roads and buildings, repair the city's irrigation system, and pay interest on government loans. An enormous percentage of annual expenditure also went to the seemingly less serious task of organizing lavish public spectacles. Since his arrival in the colony, Gálvez, with the assistance of José Antonio de Areche, began overseeing the cabildo of Puebla's annual expenses. In 1771, the Visitor General sent the municipal government a list of ordinances related to the ceremonial

practices of Mexico City with the expectation that Puebla's councilmen, or *regidores*, would follow the example of the capital. In 1776, he then dispatched a set of rules tailored for Puebla's ritual calendar.[1]

Gálvez and the newly appointed General Accountant, Francisco Antonio Gallareta, engaged in an exhaustive reform of Puebla's municipal finances, which included extensive changes to the cabildo's ceremonial practices. In 1775, the cabildo had fourteen patron saints, but the general accounting office reduced the number to eight, arguing that councilmen had never made official oaths to honor the six who did not, in Gálvez and Gallareta's view, act as authentic patrons of the city.[2] Then, Gallareta placed a ceiling on the amount that the council could spend on specific holidays. These limits represented only a small part of a general plan of reform intended to streamline the municipal finances of one of the colony's most important cities.

Under the reign of Charles III, high-level Bourbon administrators embarked on an intensive overhauling of the Spanish American bureaucracy with the intention of centralizing monarchical authority, strengthening the region's military defenses, increasing the amount of revenue from colonial industries and Crown monopolies, and assuring social order. Historians have written extensively on the Bourbon "reconquest" of Spanish America, regarding it as one of the reasons why colonial subjects eventually moved toward independence in the early nineteenth century. Colonists from the highest strata of society found centralizing objectives and the accompanying preference for

[1] Instrucción remitida por Gálvez, 18 January 1771, in Libro que contiene todas las cartas [y] órdenes que a esta Nobilísima Ciudad ha conferido el Ilustrísimo Señor Don José de Gálvez, AMP, LV 18, folios 26-43v; Actas, 3 February 1776, AMP, AC 55, folios 26v-30v.
[2] Actas, 3 February 1776, AMP, AC 55, folios 26v-30v.

peninsulares over creoles in the imperial bureaucracy particularly objectionable. Now marginalized from coveted positions in the governmental and ecclesiastical hierarchies, subjects came to embrace a creole consciousness, seeing their personal objectives and ambitions at increasing variance with those of the absolutist Crown. [3]

Given the far-reaching implications of these Bourbon reforms and their relationship to Independence, most studies focusing on the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries have tended to confront, in one way or another, the state's increasing presence in the daily life of colonial subjects. While scholars have shown that the Spanish Crown had made significant attempts to centralize authority as early as 1700, when the first Bourbon monarch, Philip V (1700-1746), assumed the throne, consensus identifies the reign of Charles III as the period in which the state became significantly more active and intrusive. Traditionally interested in causality, historians have generally focused on the political and economic aspects of these reforms, and have until recently, regarded their cultural implications as peripheral to the question of Independence. Yet, as historian Eric Van Young has suggested, all history – whether social, political, or economic – is largely cultural. Historians can, and sometimes *should*, examine culture in conjunction with social, political, and economic processes, because a single effect, such as the councilmen of Puebla's staging of elaborate ceremonies, "may have several causes, so that economic or religious motives might jostle each other in the thinking of one

[3] The historiography related to *criollismo* and Independence is particularly well-developed. See, for example, Doris M. Ladd, *The Mexican Nobility at Independence, 1780-1826* (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas Press, 1976); Ernesto de la Torre Villar, *Los guadalupes y la independencia* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrua, 1966); David A. Brading, "El clero mexicano y el movimiento insurgente de 1810," *Relaciones* 2:5 (Winter 1981), pp. 5-26.

person" or group.[4] Although enlightened Bourbon administrators generally directed their efforts toward centralizing authority on the metropole and making the colonies more economically viable, the reforms had cultural consequences as well. Susan Deans-Smith put it best, arguing that while the Bourbons did not necessarily seek to alter society substantially, "many of their economic reforms could not succeed without implementing certain alterations in social and cultural attitudes."[5]

Of particular interest of late has been this less overtly "centralizing" or fiscal aspect of the Bourbon reforms. After Charles III assumed the throne in 1759, high-level bureaucrats began engaging in what one historian has termed "the Bourbon cultural program," a series of proscriptions and prescriptions intended to channel the energies of the fiesta-oriented colonial population into more productive and "rational" endeavors.[6] In addition to making the New World bureaucracy more efficient and lucrative for the Crown, Bourbon visionaries sought to change behavior and custom. William Taylor, D.A. Brading, Brian Larkin, and Pamela Voekel all have shown how high-ranking church and state officials promoted a more subdued form of piety to replace the ostentatious and costly expressions of baroque religiosity.[7] Juan Pedro Viquiera-Albán has shown how

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[4] Eric Van Young, "New Cultural History Comes to Old Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79:2 (May 1999), p. 213. Also see Van Young "La pareja dispareja: breves comentarios acerca de la relación entre historia económica y cultural," *Historia Mexicana* 52:3 (January-March 2003), pp. 831-871.
[5] Susan Deans-Smith, "The Working Poor and the Eighteenth-Century Colonial State: Gender, Public Order, and Work Discipline," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*, ed. William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1994), p. 48.
[6] Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies: Corpus Christi in Colonial Mexico City," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance*, p. 18.
[7] D. A. Brading, "Tridentine Catholicism and Enlightened Despotism in Bourbon Mexico," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 15 (1983), pp. 1-22; William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), esp. pp. 250-260; Brian Larkin, "The Splendor of Worship: Baroque Catholicism, Religious Reform, and Last Wills and

Mexico City's administrators supported the theater as an acceptable alternative to popular diversions like Carnival and bullfights. In this way, they hoped to "modernize" colonial subjects and address criticisms regarding the "backwardness" of Spanish culture.[8]

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Crown came to regard certain types of public ceremonies as tangential to politics. In Spain, the Supreme Council of Castile commissioned the enlightened thinker Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos to write a history of Spain's diversions and spectacles. The Crown wanted to understand whether the spectacles were at odds with "*policía pública*" or public order. By 1790, Jovellanos determined that many, in fact, were and that, while the government should allow the population to enjoy itself, it did not have the obligation to entertain people. He found state-sponsored spectacles wasteful and bad for society.[9] The Crown, in turn, banned profane aspects of specific rituals. In the 1790s it cut, for example, *gigantes*, or large papier-mâché dolls that formed part of Corpus Christi spectacles in Mexico City.[10] Puebla's ceremonial practices also suffered a blow, but while the Crown attempted to edit the cabildo of Puebla's festive customs, councilmen continued to participate actively in a diverse array of public rituals throughout the decades immediately preceding Independence.[11] Some changes, however, would prove unavoidable.

Testaments in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 8:4 (Fall 1999), pp. 405-443; Pamela Voekel, *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 1.

[8] Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, trans. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera and Sergio Rivera Ayala (Wilmington DE: SR Books, 1999; first published 1987), pp. 27-42.

[9] Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Espectáculos y diversiones públicas*, ed. C. Gónzalez Suárez-Llanos (Salamanca: Ediciones Anaya, 1967), pp. 43-129.

[10] Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies," p. 20.

[11] Reinhard Liehr, *Ayuntamiento y oligarquía en Puebla, 1787-1810*, vol. 2., trans. Olga Hentsche (Mexico City: Sep/Setentas, 1976; first published 1971), pp. 76-83.

Adaptations were in some respect an indirect consequence of the Bourbon monarchy's economic and political imperatives. In Charles III's instructions for the General Visitation, he ordered Gálvez to take account of the spending practices of municipal governments and see that "expenses are regulated" and superfluous ones "eliminated" so that public funds are not poorly invested "which is injurious to my vassals."[12] In his attempt to trim colonial expenditure, the Visitor General challenged the cabildo of Puebla's ceremonial practices, which, in turn, provoked councilmen to insist on the political value of public ritual.

Although Gálvez' directives certainly had a cultural impact, he had a harder time changing the thinking of councilmen. Puebla's *regidores* had participated in a rich ceremonial life throughout the entire colonial period and adamantly resisted any attempt to reform their behavior. Gálvez' measures indeed affected the cabildo's ceremonial calendar and shaped some of its customs, but through a combination of passive and active resistance, councilmen avoided reforming their behavior in any meaningful way. At the end of the colonial period, ceremony continued to serve as the primary way councilmen expressed their authority and consolidated their power. In late eighteenth-century Puebla, the patron of fiestas (the annually elected *regidor* responsible for the organization of public rituals for the coming year) often allocated more money to ceremony than legally allowed.[13]

[12] Herbert Ingram Priestley, *José de Gálvez: Visitor-General of New Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916), p. 411.
[13] Liehr, *Ayuntamiento y oligarquía en Puebla, 1787-1810*, vol. 2, p. 79.

This study takes the directives made by Gálvez through the *Contaduría General* as a point of departure. The general accounting office criticized the cabildo of Puebla's management of ceremonial life, and from these observations, we can determine conflicting local and imperial perspectives regarding the expression of political power and authority. For Puebla's councilmen, public ritual played an integral role in the maintenance of their authority and in the preservation of political stability. The Visitor General, however, wished to redirect government finances to less ephemeral projects and tried to deemphasize the importance of ceremony as a tool of the state.

This study, then, seeks first to understand the complex role played by public ritual in the political culture of the city. In the eighteenth century, ritual still functioned as a didactic tool of the state and lavish spectacles like oath ceremonies, royal funerary honors, and viceregal entries had the same objectives of most spectacles of the *ancíen regime*. In the words of Edward Muir, they "served both as a 'model of' society, that is a representation of existing arrangements, and a 'model for' society, a kind of instruction booklet for how the state ought to be put together."[14] In the early modern period, ceremonies reflected the ideal ordering of an "estate" or corporate society; processions organized corporations and social and ethnic groups hierarchically, thus providing a blueprint for how society should function. While the late eighteenth-century Crown continued to support ceremonies which emphasized the sanctity of the king, as essential, it sought to reduce the amount of time and money that subjects spent on more locally-centered celebrations. But despite the Crown's increasing disregard for patron saint days

[14] Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 230.

and Corpus Christi, Puebla's councilmen continued to allocate resources to mount costly and elaborate public spectacles.

Councilmen did not embrace the new ethos of fiscal restraint, and in order to understand why, this study analyzes the complex role that royal oath ceremonies, funerary honors, viceregal entrances, and liturgical religious holidays played, and were seen to play, in the political culture of the city. Instead of looking ahead and focusing attention on the period following 1775, this study looks back in time to expand on what Bourbon reformers found particularly distasteful and irrational. By beginning at the end of the seventeenth century, in the year immediately preceding the last Habsburg viceregal entry, and extending my analysis through the period of dramatic reform initiatives, I seek to shed light on the multifaceted role that ceremony played in the daily practice of politics. In late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Puebla, ceremony permeated all aspects of political life. It helped councilmen legitimize Church and state, cement corporate and civic identities, stimulate the local economy, create patron-client relationships, and vie for power. To paraphrase anthropologist Clifford Geertz, ritual did not merely reflect society or politics, but played a pivotal role in the shaping of the political culture. It constituted "real" political work.[15]

The next three chapters explore how councilmen used ritual to translate the sanctity of monarchy, the legitimacy of the colonial system, and the tenets of the Catholic faith. Chapter 2 focuses on particular elements of royal oath ceremonies, funerary honors

[15] In his discussion of nineteenth-century Bali, Clifford Geertz summed up this position in a characterization of royal cremations. He argued that "A royal cremation was not an echo of politics occurring somewhere else. It was an intensification of politics occurring everywhere else." He concluded that ritual did not constitute mere "artifice." See Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 120, 122.

for kings, celebrations of births of princes, and Corpus Christi. These events glorified the ideal of universal empire, and specific components of the ceremonies cast the monarch as a conqueror, as a father, and as a semi-divine defender of the faith. In addition to presenting this construction of kingship, the ceremonies also underscored the transcendent nature of monarchy. Royal ceremonies like *juras* and funerary honors presented the king as a figure worthy of adulation and stressed that despite the passing of the crown from one king to another, the Crown existed as a sacred entity, in and of itself. Because the ceremonies served such important functions, the Bourbons did not attempt to dismantle the system. Rather, as the Bourbons solidified their vision of government, new royal ceremonies emerged, underscoring the growing power of the centralist state.

Chapter 3 focuses on the eighteenth-century viceregal entrance. Early in the century, imperial leaders began devaluing the significance of viceregal ceremonies and, therefore, limited the amount that the poblano cabildo could spend on the triumphal entrance and on hosting the viceroy during his stay in Puebla. Municipal leaders, however, had a deep-seated understanding of the viceroy's role and regarded him as a surrogate king. Despite changing royal imperatives and the Crown's attempts to highlight the king instead of his minister, councilmen continued to treat the viceroy as a "prince," and his arrival in Puebla as the arrival of "court." As indicated by the elevated costs of Puebla's viceregal celebrations, royal directives had little impact on councilmen's understanding of viceregal authority.

Chapter 4 focuses on the city government's promotion of the tenets of the

universal Catholic Church, an important, but largely unexamined aspect of colonial religious culture. Councilmen helped forge an overarching Roman Catholic identity that encompassed disparate religious affiliations in the community, such as barrios with their respective patron saints, parish cults, and confraternities. Through ceremony, councilmen expressed their faith and, as heads of the body politic, their behavior provided an example for others. Religious rituals helped councilmen integrate the community and poblanos firmly believed that their pantheon of saints helped to ward off natural catastrophes. Despite Gálvez's effort to reduce the amount of time and money spent on pious devotion, councilmen could not conceive of abandoning their ceremonial duties.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 focus on the "meta-arguments" of ritual, or how they worked to the benefit of global processes, such as the legitimization of the broader state and Church. I shift to the local and how councilmen regarded and encouraged the industry of spectacle in chapter 5. For much of the eighteenth century, the Crown had attempted to make the cabildo of Puebla reduce ceremonial expenditure. Although aggregate annual costs of ceremony are unavailable for the last 25 years of our period, evidence suggests that the cabildo still spent a substantial amount on elaborate ritual performances.

Part of the reason behind the cabildo's resistance lies in the symbolic efficacy and political utility of ceremony, but another less-examined reason can be found in the economic underpinnings of municipal ceremony. Evidence suggests that some councilmen made a profit from the ceremonies, and the cabildo certainly enhanced its client base by providing contracts for services and by purchasing needed supplies from

local merchants. As we will see, the eighteenth century represented a period of relative economic decline for the city of Puebla. In light of economic hardship, poblanos likely hoped for a "trickling down" of municipal resources.

How the cabildo's commemorations incorporated members of the community's various social and ethnic groups, while supporting an overarching civic identity, is the subject of chapter 6. Puebla's ceremonies recalled its distinct history - as a city blessed by the archangel Saint Michael and as New Spain's "second city" in prestige and importance. Throughout the colonial period, ceremonies continued to celebrate corporate affiliations and the *patria chica* over membership in the colony. Although Mexico City's cabildo promoted the Virgin of Guadalupe as a colonial symbol, the cabildo of Puebla had elected her as a special patron in the seventeenth century and continued to regard her as their own.

In chapters 7 and 8, I veer away slightly from an analysis of the political and social functions of ritual, to an analysis of various disputes that occurred during ritual performances. While ritual often encouraged solidarity, at times it also highlighted preexisting fissures within the body politic. Ceremony provided arenas for members of the local elite to vie for power and family feuds and financial quarrels often manifested themselves during ritual performances. While historians have tended to look at ritual disputes as a byproduct of competition between leading corporations, or resulting from a baroque obsession with honor, using cases from the first half of the eighteenth century, I illustrate that conflicts often transcended corporate limits and dealt with material issues

not necessarily related to honor or jurisdiction. Chapter 7, however, illustrates how the intensification of the Bourbon reforms catalyzed hostilities during ritual performances. In this period, the question of jurisdiction comes to the forefront. When the Crown installed new urban militias in the city of Puebla, it upset the tenuous equilibrium between corporations and ushered in a period of heated jurisdictional conflict.

Focusing on the cultural, social, economic, and political implications of public ritual underscores their central and pervasive role in the political culture of the city. Although several exciting works in colonial Mexican history have begun to explore the relationship between state-sponsored spectacle and the legitimation of colonial rule, few have dealt with the locally-determined reasons for sponsoring costly ceremony.[16] Several scholars have argued that colonial leaders gave priority to ritual because of its utility for uniting the New World's diverse racial and ethnic groups symbolically, and have contributed to our understanding of how organizers sought to create consensus through awe-inspiring effects.[17] Nonetheless, these historians have rarely given priority to issues that extend beyond what an analysis of the presentations reveals. Scholars have largely

[16] Linda A. Curcio-Nagy and Alejandro Cañeque, for example, seek to understand the phenomenon of spectacle, but mainly through the dual lens of imperial hegemony and the culture of the baroque. Local imperatives and particularities are largely subsumed under these broader categories. See Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004) and Alejandro Cañeque, *The King´s Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Seventeenth-Century New Spain* (New York: Routledge, 2004). Curcio's analysis of the cabildo's patronage of the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe, however, focuses attention on councilmen's objectives, moving beyond the traditional analysis of the cult as a product of an emerging creole-consciousness. Instead, she argues that in the wake of the Corn Riot of 1692, councilmen adopted her to ward off uprisings and protect civic leaders. See Linda Curcio-Nagy, "Native Icon to City Protectress to Royal Patroness: Ritual, Political Symbolism and the Virgin of Remedies," *The Americas* 52:3 (January 1996), pp. 367-391.

[17] See Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, "Las fiestas novohispanas: espectáculo y ejemplo," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 9:1 (Winter 1993), pp. 19-45; Clara García Ayluardo, "A World of Images: Cult, Ritual, and Society in Colonial Mexico City," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance*, pp. 77-93; Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

regarded ornate costuming, processions representing estate society, and enormous Greco-Roman artwork as the product of a "baroque mentality" and an elite preoccupation with parading prestige and faith to enhance their honor. Others have focused on the late eighteenth century, with an emphasis on the absolutist objectives of the Bourbon monarchy.[18] Few studies have explored the importance of municipal ceremonies before the late eighteenth century, examined the presentation of spectacle outside the capital, or disentangled the intricate web of relationships that tied ritual activity to local politics. As a result, the workings and consequences of state-sponsored rituals in other regions and periods remain unknown.

During the Renaissance, European court spectacles began incorporating works of ephemeral art as centerpieces.[19] In the New World, royal oath ceremonies, funerary honors, and viceregal entrances also incorporated triumphal arches, triumphal carts, catafalques and platforms decorated with emblems, poems, and Latin motes, and artisans and intellectuals continued to incorporate these elements into public spectacles throughout the colonial period. Because of the incredible richness of visual evidence in the form of engravings or, in lieu of these, detailed descriptions of festive iconography, art historians have been in the vanguard of the study of spectacle.[20] Only recently have historians begun to take public ritual seriously.[21]

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[18] See, for example, Viqueira-Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico* and María José Garrido Aspero, "Las fiestas cívicas en la ciudad de México: De las ceremonias del estado absoluto a la conmemoración del estado liberal," (master's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), pp. 1-49.

[19] See Roy Strong's *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld: 1973) for an overview of the ephemeral structures of Renaissance court fêtes.

[20] Antonio Bonet Correa is largely responsible for opening this line of enquiry for art historians of the early modern Spanish Empire. His "La fiesta barroca como práctica del poder," in *El arte efímero en el mundo*

In her history of Corpus Christi processions, viceregal entries, and royal oath ceremonies in colonial Mexico City, Linda Curcio-Nagy argues that in New Spain ritual functioned as a ceremonial constitution, or a representation of the ideal state. Under the less hands-on Spanish Habsburgs, ceremony had functioned as a reward for submission, or as a symbolic social contract, and a blue print for how society and government should function. With the advent of Bourbon absolutism, Curcio-Nagy noted that high-level bureaucrats now regarded ritual as unimportant when compared to other, more "serious" endeavors, like the development of urban infrastructure. But while bureaucrats attacked viceregal entries as exorbitant and Corpus Christi as profane, the *jura del rey*, or royal oath ceremony, grew in importance. By focusing attention on the Crown, late eighteenth-ceremony ceremony heralded the dawn of Bourbon absolutism.[22]

While Curcio-Nagy speaks to how ritual furthered imperial objectives, she glosses over the role of ritual in the daily practice of politics. She provides a "reading" of ceremonies, enumerating their didactic components and examining how they mirrored the changing values of the State. Yet, public ritual was as important to furthering the

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hispánico (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, UNAM, 1983), pp. 45-78 had the greatest impact on the field. In Mexico, however, art historian Francisco de la Maza had already been focusing on festive art for quite some time. See *Las piras funerarias en la historia y en el arte de México, grabados, litografías, y documentos del siglo XVI al XIX* (Mexico City: Impresa Universitaria, 1946) and *La mitología clásica en el arte colonial de México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1968). Santiago Sebastián also stood at the forefront of emblem studies in Spain and Mexico. See, for example, *Iconografía e iconología del arte novohispano* (Mexico City: Grupo Azabache, 1992). Also see the essays included in Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, *Iconología y sociedad: arte colonial hispanoamericano* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987) and Jaime Soler Frost, ed., *Los pinceles de la historia: el origen del reino de la Nueva España, 1680-1750* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional del Arte, 1999).

[21] Of note are Ángel López Cantos's survey of Spanish American spectacles and Antonio Rubial García's history of street culture in colonial Mexico City. López Cantos, *Juegos, fiestas y diversiones en la América Española* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992); Rubial García, *La plaza, el palacio, y el convento* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998).

[22] Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*, pp. 97-119.

objectives of local leaders as it was to bolstering the legitimacy and changing values of the Crown. This study supports Curcio-Nagy's findings regarding the political efficacy of ritual and its role in promoting the ideals of the colonial Bourbon state. I extend the discussion by providing a locally contextualized or "thick" description, of the cabildo's rituals. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz has argued that "cultural theory grows out of the delicacy of its distinctions, not the sweep of its abstractions," and advocated against separating "readings" of culture "from what happens - from what, in this time or that place, specific people say, what they do, what is done to them, from the whole vast business of the world," for fear that it would "divorce it from its applications and render it vacant."[23] By addressing both the imperial and local implications of ritual and the practices of participants and observers, scholars can see that ritual did not merely function as a "tool" of the state. Rather, ritual production constituted an inseparable process in the making of political culture in eighteenth-century Puebla. By placing rituals organized and financed by Puebla's councilmen firmly within the cultural, social, economic and political contexts in which they were produced, we can better understand the complex place Holy Week commemorations, Corpus Christi celebrations, patron saint processions, viceregal entrance ceremonies, royal funerary rites, and oath ceremonies occupied in the political culture of an important, yet understudied, city.

This study complements what Alejandro Cañeque has found for the rituals of New Spain's seventeenth-century viceregal court. Borrowing on Geertz' concept of the "theatre state," Cañeque argues that political rituals "embody the very production and

[23] Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 25, 18.

negotiation of power relations and are not merely the instruments of power, politics, or social control (which are usually seen as existing before or outside ritual activities)."[24] Similarly, I contend that ritual functioned as an integral component of the locality's political culture, and not as a mere reflection of political and social relations. Yet, Cañeque bases his argument more on political theorists, and less on the everyday practice of politics. Although his work focuses on political culture, which can be defined as the political values, beliefs and attitudes and the corresponding behaviors of particular groups, it emphasizes the imperial ideology that shaped and molded ritual behavior in Mexico. Similarly, this study provides a symbolic and intellectually informed analysis of ritual, while also questioning how social relationships and economic considerations shaped the understandings and behaviors of councilmen.

While Cañeque followed part of Geertz' methodological program by isolating symbolic elements of ritual to understand their meaning, I look at the cabildo of Puebla's spectacles as organically tied to local politics.[25] After analyzing monarchical rituals, viceregal entries, and religious holidays to see how councilmen legitimized the imperial state and Roman Catholic Church, this study explores the locally-determined reasons councilmen had for sponsoring ceremony. While councilmen certainly sought to exalt the power of the Church and state, other factors were also at work. During ceremonies, the cabildo competed with other corporations and individuals for power, which did not only mean prestige and honor, but material wealth. The cabildo's calendar of ceremonial

[24] Cañeque, *The King's Living Image*, p. 120.
[25] Geertz argued that to understand ritual one must undertake a "dialectical tacking between the parts, in such a way as to bring parts and whole simultaneously into view." For his study of Bali, this meant "isolating the essential elements in the religious symbolic suffusing of the theatre state." Geertz, *Negara*, p. 103.

obligations, moreover, fed an industry and allowed councilmen to nurture the economy and invest people in the perpetuation of the system.

The changes demanded of the cabildo in 1776 and their reaction and resistance can only be explained by examining the role that ritual traditionally played in the locality's political culture. Gálvez believed that the cabildo's ceremonial life served largely as a pretext for councilmen to display their personal wealth and status, and for the populace to enjoy frivolous entertainment. Although this bears some truth, the cabildo's penchant for elaborate and costly monarchical rituals, viceregal entries, and religious holidays, defies any single explanation.

While Gálvez and his associates sought to limit the annual expenditure and maximize the profits of municipal councils throughout the colony, they paid particular attention to spending practices in Puebla, as evidenced by a lively and consistent exchange of correspondence throughout the seven years that Gálvez spent in the colony.[26] Yet, the attention focused on Puebla was, in some respect, nothing new. Because of its geographic location, its lucrative businesses, and its official status as the "second city of New Spain," Puebla had always attracted a great deal of royal attention. Indeed, Crown officials had initially conceived of Puebla as a city exclusively for Spaniards who would work the land themselves, with little assistance from surrounding native communities. By establishing Puebla in 1531, the president and oidores of the second audiencia of Mexico expected that Spaniards would have little contact with Indians from the

[26] Libro que contiene todas las cartas [y] órdenes que a esta Nobilísima Ciudad ha conferido el Ilustrísimo Señor Don José de Gálvez, AMP, LV 18.

surrounding towns of Cholula, Totimehuacan, Cuautinchan, Huaquechula, Tepeaca and Tlaxcala. Franciscan clergymen also supported the creation of a city on the edge of the Atoyac River for the purpose of congregating Spanish "vagabonds," who wandered throughout the region exploiting indigenous people. In this way, the ideology behind the initial foundation of the city contrasted with the interests of *encomenderos* who wanted to gain financially from the labor of the Indians. Although the social project quickly failed as Spaniards came to rely on indigenous and, soon after, African labor to build their houses, pave their streets, and work in their industries, the Crown's attempt to build a town on a site previously uninhabited by native peoples illustrates the city's role in furthering Crown objectives and in this particular case, countering the influence of ex-conquistadors and their attempts to promote the feudal-like *encomienda* system.[27] In sixteenth-century Spain, the monarchy had already countered the influence of the feudal nobility and sought to instill a centralized form of government in the colonies.

Colonial officials, however, also saw strategic value in establishing an intermediate point between the port of Vera Cruz and Mexico City. After the difficult trans-Atlantic journey, travelers from Spain eagerly left the humid, mosquito-ridden port of Vera Cruz to recuperate in one of Puebla's many hospitals or inns. Throughout the seventeenth century, European merchandise found its way to Puebla for redistribution throughout the colonies. After disembarking at the port of Acapulco, merchants involved in the Philippine trade also brought their wares overland to Puebla. Although *regidores*

[27] François Chevalier, *Significación social de la fundación de la Puebla de los Ángeles*, trans. E. San Martín (Puebla: Centro de Estudios Históricos de Puebla, 1957; first published 1947); Julia Hirschberg, "La fundación de Puebla de los Ángeles: Mito y realidad," *Historia Mexicana* 28:2 (October–December 1978), pp. 185-223.

were legally forbidden from engaging in trade, Puebla's councilmen had special dispensations to do so. Because of its strategic location and the support of councilmen, the city became Spanish America's commercial center for much of the colonial period.[28]

Puebla's importance, however, extended beyond its foundation as a "social experiment," and its commercial success. Framed by three rivers, Puebla had the colony's most fertile lands, the most abundant water supply, and lumber for building. For these reasons, and because of the regular rain fall, ambitious colonists established haciendas throughout the region and many wealthy landholders made the city of Puebla their primary home. In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Puebla had been New Spain's bread-basket, and according to one estimate, in 1640, the region had over 3,000 haciendas. Agriculturalists gained from trade within the colony, but also by supplying wheat to commercial fleets and to the soldiers, ships, and fortresses that guarded the Caribbean.[29] Most seventeenth- and eighteenth-century councilmen owned farms or ranches in the general proximity of the city. According to one estimate, in 1746 the jurisdiction of Puebla (encompassing the towns of Atlixco, Tlaxcala, and Tepeaca) had more than 782 haciendas. In addition to raising animals like sheep and pigs, the haciendas produced the majority of the colonies wheat. Yet, by the eighteenth century, the fertile grasslands of the Bajío, an area spanning large portions of Mexico,

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[28] Guy Thomson, *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700-1850* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), pp. xix-xx.

[29] Gustavo Rafael Alfaro Ramírez, "La lucha por el control del gobierno urbano en la época colonial. El Cabildo de la Puebla de los Angeles, 1670-1723" (Master's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998), pp. 56-60.

Guadalajara, and Zacatecas, surpassed Puebla in agricultural production.[30] In the seventeenth century, wool from sheep ranches fed Puebla's prosperous textile industry, but this also declined in the eighteenth century. By our period, the relatively debilitated industry had come to devote itself almost exclusively to cheaper varieties of cotton cloth.[31] Nonetheless, with its thriving iron, soap, glass, and ceramic industries, Puebla continued to play a powerful role in the colonial economy.

As the city matured it developed its own urban culture, characterized by consistent presentations of public ritual. Religious institutions, of course, served as the primary choreographers of public displays of faith. The cathedral chapter which in 1550 moved to Puebla from Tlaxcala, coordinated its own calendar of events, and confraternities, located in the city's parishes, sponsored their own baroque expressions of piety, such as feast days, anniversary masses, and public funerals. During most of the colonial period, the central part of the city, originally intended for Spaniards, contained approximately one-half of Puebla's population. This nucleus encompassed the ethnically and socially diverse parish of San José, to the northeast of the main plaza, and the primarily Spanish or Spanish-Creole Sagrario Metropolitan, adjoining the cathedral to the south of the main plaza. Indigenous communities mainly inhabited the remaining four parishes of Santo Ángel Custodio (Analco), to the east of the plaza across the San Francisco River, Santa Cruz, which bridged off from San José in 1681 and fell between the San Francisco and Xonaco rivers, and San Sebastián to the southwest. In 1767, the

[30] Juan Villa Sánchez and Francisco Javier de la Peña, *Puebla Sagrada y Profana: Informe dado a su muy ilustre ayuntamiento el año de 1746 (Facsímil)* (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1997 (1835)), p. 41.
[31] Thomson, *Puebla de los Angeles*, p. 17.

diocese established the largely indigenous parish of San Marcos, separating it from the jurisdiction of the Sagrario Metropolitano.[32]

Barrios, or residential neighborhoods, further enriched the spiritual topography of the city, overlapping the parochial boundaries and boasting their own patron saints. The western part of the city incorporated the barrios of Santiago, San Sebastián, San Miguelito, San Pablo and Santa Ana, and to the east of the cathedral, on the other side of the San Francisco River, were the barrios of Analco, el Alto, San Juan del Río, Xonaca and Xanenetla.[33] Eleven convents of nuns and thirteen convents of friars crisscrossed the central part of the city, but the Convent of Saint Francis extended into the indigenous barrio of Analco, also encouraging public expressions of devotion, such as feast days, inaugurations of *retablos*, and processions of supplication. Furthermore, in the seventeenth century the city produced several holy people who developed enthusiastic followings. Two of these individuals would be promoted to beatification in the eighteenth century, triggering their own public demonstrations of civic pride and piety.[34]

High-level administrators always paid a great deal of attention to ritual events in Puebla, made possible by the poblano cabildo's enthusiasm for enforcing ceremonial protocol and their direct line of communication to the viceroy and Council of the Indies. Indeed, the cabildo constantly sent representatives to meet with the viceroy, and by the

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[32] Miguel Ángel Cuenya Mateos, *Puebla de los Ángeles en tiempos de una peste colonial: una mirada al torno Matlazahuat de 1737* (Zamora, Michoacán: Colegio de Michoacán, 1999), p. 65.
[33] Rosalva Loreto López, *Los conventos femeninos y el mundo urbano del la Puebla de los Ángeles del Siglo XVIII* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 2000), pp. 1-2.
[34] For information on the cult of Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, see Antonio Rubial García, *La santidad controvertida: Hagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados de Nueva España* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autonóma de México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999), pp. 207-250. Also see Chapter 3 on Sebastián de Aparicio in Ronald J. Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity, 1600-1810* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2002), pp. 39-66.

eighteenth century, paid for a permanent agent, or *apoderado*, to see to their interests at Court. Yet, the city had always remained in close contact with Crown officials. In 1537, the colonial cabildo of Puebla proposed that for six months out of the year the capital should reside in Puebla, and the newly settled poblanos took their proposal so seriously that they even sent a councilman to Spain to argue their case before the king. In the seventeenth century, the city enjoyed a veritable "golden age," even competing briefly with the capital for prestige and importance. In 1629, the lake Texcoco flooded over, causing severe damage and unsanitary conditions in Mexico City. According to one estimate, the catastrophe sparked a mass exodus of 20,000 families to Puebla, and the cabildo, accordingly, suggested to the viceroy that the capital be housed permanently in Puebla.[35]

Until the end of the seventeenth century, Puebla rivaled Mexico City for prestige and importance and at its height the population of Puebla approached that of the capital. In 1678, the population of Puebla hovered between 90,000-100,000 residents, and in 1742, Mexico City had a population of approximately 98,000 people. Yet, economic decline and epidemic disease caused Puebla's population to drop considerably. According to Juan Villa Sánchez, by 1746 the city had only 50,366 residents. During the rest of the colonial period, the population increased only slightly. In 1777, Puebla had 56,674 residents and in 1792, a census taken under Viceroy Revillagigedo placed the

[35] Alfaro Ramírez, "La lucha por el control," p. 54.

population at 56,859 residents. The city, moreover, always contained a large Spanish population. In 1777, about a third of the population identified themselves as Spaniards. [36]

The strength of Puebla's seventeenth-century cabildo mirrored the social and economic health of the city as a whole, but as the local economy began to decline at the beginning of the eighteenth century, this also changed. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most of Puebla's councilmen descended from the original settlers, whose powerful families intermarried, monopolized council positions, and created a relatively cohesive oligarchy, especially when compared to the councilmen of Mexico City who had a harder time maintaining their wealth and, therefore, their hold on municipal council positions.[37] Puebla's *regidores* purchased their positions from the Crown and in the seventeenth century, prices were exceeding high, only to drop considerably in the eighteenth century.[38] If they so chose, councilmen could renounce in favor of a family member or associate, who could then purchase the position for only a third of the original cost. Councilmen, however, also had the option of forfeiting their position completely by

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[36] Miguel Ángel Cuenya Mateos, "Puebla en su demografía, 1650-1850: Una aproximación al tema," in *Puebla de la colonia a la revolución: estudios de historia regional*, ed. Carlos Contreras Cruz (Puebla: Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Sociales, 1987), pp. 9-72; Cuenya Mateos, *Puebla de los Ángeles en tiempos de una peste colonial*, p. 110. Brian Larkin cites the 1742 population figure for Mexico City in "The Splendor of Worship," p. 407. For a detailed analysis of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century migration to Puebla from one Spanish town, see Ida Altman, *Transatlantic Ties in the Spanish Empire: Brihuega, Spain and Puebla, Mexico, 1560-1620* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000). For indications that Spanish migration continued steadily throughout the eighteenth century, see Miguel Ángel Cuenya Mateos, "Migración y movilidad espacial en el siglo XVIII. El caso de la ciudad de Puebla. Una visión a través de los registros matrimoniales," in *Las dimensiones sociales del espacio en la historia de Puebla (XVII-XIX)*, ed. Francisco Javier Cervantes Bello (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2001), pp. 39-66.

[37] See Jose F. de la Peña's comparison of the seventeenth-century oligarchies of Mexico City and Puebla in *Oligarquía y propiedad en Nueva España, 1550-1624* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983).

[38] According to Gustavo Alfaro Ramírez, between 1665 and 1700 the average price of a *regidor*ship was 3,500 pesos, but between 1731 and 1765 the price was 1,100 pesos. See "El reclutamiento oligárquico en el cabildo de la Puebla de los Ángeles, 1665-1765" (Licenciatura thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1994), p. 132.

renouncing in favor of the Crown. At the turn of the eighteenth century, most councilmen chose to relinquish their positions without designating an heir, leading to a sharp decline in membership. Instead of the nineteen regidores who regularly attended meetings in 1699, only six could be counted on to show up one year later.[39]

The reasons for this can be traced to as early as 1697, when the Crown began intruding actively in poblano politics. For most of the seventeenth century, Puebla's government had enjoyed the privilege of collecting the *alcabala,* or royal sales tax, and many councilmen used their positions to help allies and themselves avoid paying the tax. Although many poblanos amassed great wealth from trade and from supplying the merchant ships with food, lax taxation practices led to insurmountable debt.[40] When the cabildo finally found itself unable to make payments on the *alcabala*, the Crown installed Juan José de Veytia y Linaje to oversee the tax collection and the city's elite quickly lost interest in bureaucratic service.[41] Veytia lost no time in attempting to crush the cabildo's autonomy, and the majority of councilmen responded by resigning or simply ceasing to attend meetings. Those who chose to stay on the council would have to deal with Veytia until his death in 1722.

Between 1701 and 1728, the Crown did not sell one new position of *regidor*. Some positions had added prestige and responsibilities, and thereby cost considerably more, but in terms of simple seats on the council, few wanted them when previously they had been highly coveted. Surely, as historian Gustavo Alfaro has argued, the cabildo's

[39] Alfaro Ramírez, "La lucha por el control," p. 176.
[40] *Ibid*., p. 156 n. 95.
[41] *Ibid*., pp. 133-34, 169-75.

loss of the *alcabala* monopoly and constant oversight by Crown officials made the positions less attractive. By 1728, however, the cabildo recuperated from the previous assault and even negotiated recouping the *alcabala* collection. Between 1728 and 1739, eight men bought seats on the council.[42]

One hundred and twenty people served on the municipal council between 1665 and 1775, and represented 35 family lines; all 35 families had at least two members on the corporation, clearly making the cabildo a vehicle of the local oligarchy. Families maintained their presence on the council over generations. The Victoria Salazár family, for example, had a member on the cabildo for 140 years. Nicolás de Victoria bought the position of councilman in 1669; he served for 26 years but was unable to leave it to his son before he died. Nevertheless, the family continued to enjoy great political influence. Nicolás' brother, for example, served as a cathedral canon and his son-in-law, Domingo de la Edesa stayed on the cabildo until 1707. Nicolás' other son, Ignacio, bought the position of *regidor* and *alférez real* (royal standard bearer) in 1716 and would leave it to his son, José Manuel, in 1746. In 1775, José Manuel died and left the position of standard bearer to his son, Ignacio María. Puebla, therefore, would have three generations of royal standard bearers from the same family. As we will see later, standard bearers played principal roles in royal ceremonies.

Despite the instability of Puebla's eighteenth-century cabildo, *regidores* did not loose interest in ritual; there was, in effect, little correlation between the decadence of the oligarchy and the majesty of ceremony. Councilmen continued to regard themselves as

[42] *Ibid*., pp. 173-174.

the embodiment of their great city and referred to cabildo by the title awarded to Puebla by Charles V - the "Most Noble and Loyal City of Puebla." The families that came to dominate the cabildo after 1730 saw themselves as civic leaders and authentic representatives of the body politic. Public ceremony became a vehicle for promoting both class and civic identity

Councilmen spent more time on ritual than on practically any other political obligation. On the eve of the changes made by Gálvez, the cabildo celebrated fourteen patron saints, meaning that on fourteen days the cabildo participated in processions. Two elegantly dressed mace bearers carrying wooden staffs, painted in gold and bearing the coat of arms of the city led the way; as in all Spanish cities, these maces embodied the corporate power of the cabildo and when councilmen processed with these staffs, they did so "*en forma de ciudad*," or as Puebla´s representative body. In addition to participating in the procession and attending mass, councilmen also had the obligation of attending the Divine Offices on the eve of a feast day. So, the cabildo's patron saint obligations necessitated 24 days of public appearances.

But the councilmen's ceremonial engagements did not end there. The cabildo attended mass on Ash Wednesday, the annual Corpus Christi procession and its octave, three days of litanies before the feast of the Ascension, mass on Holy Thursday, and the procession in honor of the Holy Burial of Christ and the Adoration of the Holy Cross on Good Friday. In addition to these cyclical liturgical events, in January the cabildo also attended a thanksgiving mass for *alcaldes ordinarios* (municipal judges elected annually

by councilmen), a procession and mass for Our Lady of the Rosary, and mass for the Holy Kings. In February, councilmen attended Candlemas, and in May, a special mass and sermon to honor Saint Joseph's patronage of the Spanish Empire. In June, the cabildo attended a mass and procession for Saint John the Baptist, in July a mass for Saint James, patron of Spain, and in September a special mass sponsored by the cathedral for Saint Joseph. November proved a particularly busy month, with a mass in honor of Spain's monarchs, a mass and sermon for the Virgin Mary, and a mass in honor of the Most Holy Sacrament. In December, the cabildo attended a mass for the Immaculate Conception and an anniversary mass established by the Crown in 1713 to Make Amends to the Most Holy Sacrament (*Desagravios al Santísimo Sacramento*). The cabildo, therefore, spent 45 days out of the year making obligatory public appearances.

In addition, the cabildo also participated in other events which, although not mandatory, councilmen attended for the purpose of setting a pious example for the populace. When bishops entered the diocese of Puebla for the first time, councilmen participated in, and helped subsidize, the event. Epidemics and famines required processions of appeasement and councilmen often took the initiative in organizing these demonstrations. New viceroys, moreover, passed through Puebla on average every six years, and the cabildo celebrated with a grand triumphal entrance.

Frequently, the cabildo received calls to celebrate a rite of passage of a member of the royal family, adding another central element to its ceremonial culture. These included births of princes and princesses, royal marriages, funerary honors, and oath

ceremonies for new kings. As the century wore on and as the Bourbons sought to centralize authority on the Crown symbolically, high-level administrators had Puebla's government take on new royal holidays, including the birthdays and saint's days of kings. Eventually, the monarchy distinguished between ceremonies that strengthened local or colonial affiliations from those that glorified the royal house. While the Crown insisted on tapering the cabildo's annual obligations and limiting the amount that the cabildo could legally spend on viceregal entries, it allowed specific royal holidays to grow unabated and expanded the customary series of holidays for kings. Yet, large-scale spectacles marking specific events in the lives of monarchs or Spanish military victories had always played an important role in the city's festive culture. So, while councilmen spent 12 percent of the year attending to its ritual calendar, they customarily spent significantly more time in ceremonial endeavors when exemplary holidays, entrances, royal holidays, and other miscellaneous events are counted.[43]

This study presupposes that the *poblano* councilmen understood public ritual as a central and integral component of their political culture. They choreographed elaborate public spectacles because it enhanced their power and that of the colonial system, but quite how they calculated the benefits is another matter. Councilmen orchestrated and participated in ritual because it was part of the "common" or "practical sense" of their political reality. It was, in the words of Pierre Bourdieu, part of being in the "game."[44] Some of the rules governing ceremonial comportment were indeed codified in either the

[43] For a thorough list of the cabildo's ceremonial obligations, see Libro que contiene los patronatos de esta muy noble, muy fiel, y leal ciudad de Puebla de los Ángeles, 1769, AMP, LV 20.
[44] See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 176.

Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias (the seventeenth-century compilation of Spanish-American law) or in city ordinances and ceremonial manuals, but it was also part of practice, or custom. In order to understand the role of ritual in the lives of Puebla's political elite, this study interprets not only the social and political function of these rituals, but also the internal logic of ritual behavior. In the eighteenth century, following E.P. Thompson, custom was "the rhetoric of legitimation for almost any usage, practice or demanded right" and written and unwritten codes regarding the maintenance of power and authority compelled and pushed councilmen to invest themselves in ceremony. Participants often contested specific values and norms of custom, and so the process of participating in ceremonies meant that councilmen were constantly nurturing traditions, elaborating upon them, and inventing new ones.[45] By engaging in ritual behavior, councilmen helped shape the political culture of their locality.

Although late eighteenth-century Bourbon functionaries came to regard some of New Spain's ceremonial traditions as "irrational" and prohibitively expensive, the municipal council of Puebla had very good reasons for mounting public ritual. Indeed, they understood ritual as inseparable from the everyday practice of politics. By educating subjects regarding the values of the empire and the Catholic Church, ceremony encouraged subjects to adhere to the colonial system. Yet, ritual did not merely serve didactic functions and help local officials strengthen colonial hegemony. Ceremony served a variety of functions, inextricably tied to the intricate workings of local politics. Through ceremony, local officials attempted to create a sense of belonging to empire,

[45] E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York: New Press, 1993), p. 6.

city, corporation, and religion, and while doing so, also helped to enhance their own authority and defuse tension at the local level. But just as easily as ceremonies fostered solidarity, they fostered conflict, thus complicating the idea of the "social function" of public ritual. While ceremonies did indeed serve a purpose, they did not always bring people "together" under a single world view. Because ceremony cannot be separated easily from the daily practice of politics, it cannot be analyzed independently of the industry of ceremony. Because ceremonies required hundred of employees and vast sums of money, they provided a motor for the local economy. Councilmen did not passively accept changes to its ceremonial calendar or limits on ritual expenditure simply because ceremony "served the colonial system." This assessment glosses over the complex and multifaceted role that ceremony played in colonial Spanish America.

Chapter 2: "The King is Dead, Long Live the King": Explaining Monarchy in Colonial Puebla

In 1760, the city of Puebla celebrated the *jura del rey*, or oath ceremony, for Charles III. The celebration typically included the swearing of the oath in front of the municipal palace, the reiteration of the oath in front of the Episcopal palace, a procession and a final declaration of loyalty on the streets of the urban center. As with all oath ceremonies, the event began with councilmen, indigenous leaders, musicians and the city's leading gentlemen riding on horseback to the home of the *alférez mayor*, or royal standard bearer. Like all municipal council offices, that of *alférez mayor* was a purchasable position, but it was also the most expensive and prestigious. Poised on horseback in front of his home, replete with tapestries and luminaries, the *alférez* waited with standard in hand to lead the cavalcade to the main plaza. Preceded by two heralds, or kings-at-arms, he dismounted his horse and rose upon an enormous platform to declare Puebla's allegiance to Spain's new ruling monarch.

One herald soon called out, "Silence! Silence! Silence!" and the other, "Listen! Listen! Listen!" at which time the alférez, with royal standard in hand, declared, "Castile - New Spain for the King Our Lord Don Charles III . . .!"[1] The ceremony continued with the unveiling of the king's portrait and the roaring of countless "*Vivas.*" As two small boys threw coins to eager spectators, militiamen discharged their weapons. The ceremony continued with the *alférez*, councilmen, and members of the city's nobility moving on horseback to other locations designated for a repetition of the oath and the

[1] Jura de Carlos III, 1760, AMP, Expedientes 205, folios 185r-198r.

tossing of more silver coins. The councilmen then moved to the main plaza to join members of the cathedral chapter and together enter the cathedral for a thanksgiving mass.[2]

Between 1701 and 1760, poblanos knew the crowning of four monarchs: Philip V, Luis I (1724), Ferdinand VI (1747-1759), and Charles III. They witnessed, moreover, the spectacle that accompanied the deaths of Charles II (1666-1700), Philip V, Luis I, and Ferdinand VI – rituals known as *exequias reales*, or royal funerary honors. While the platform served as the stage for the oath ceremony, an enormous catafalque under the central dome of the cathedral served as the "tomb" of the king and the primary stage for the funerary honors. The *exequias reales* consisted of a mass on the eve of the event, a procession on the morning of the honors, masses by the city's religious orders, and a requiem mass and sermon in honor of the deceased king. By 1775, the Spanish Crown had attempted to curtail the amount that municipal councils could spend on public spectacles which emphasized the local, but royal ceremonies such as oath ceremonies and funerary honors continued to grow in importance. While Puebla's oath ceremonies usually lasted no more than two days, Charles III's *jura* extended over an unprecedented eight days.[3]

In Spanish America, royal ceremonies played a fundamental role in forging allegiance to the monarch and investing subjects in the gains of the empire. Here I focus on the symbolic components of royal ceremonies, paying particular attention to the

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[2] *Ibid.*, folios 185r-198r.
[3] Anonymous, *Rasgo Epico de la Solemne Proclamación que celebro al Rey N. Sr. (Dios lo guarde) El Señor D. Carlos de Borbón, la M. Ilustre Cesarea Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles, el 20 de Julio de este año 1760* (Mexico City: Imprenta de la Biblioteca Mexicana, 1760), p. 30.

messages embedded in oath ceremonies and funerary honors, while also examining other kinds of ceremonies, such as births of princes, birthdays of kings, Puebla's yearly Corpus Christi processions, patron saint days, and religious ceremonies of supplication. Ceremonies dedicated to the monarchy helped forge a sense of community that spanned the Atlantic Ocean. In order to cement imperial unity, Puebla's councilmen sought to present the king as a conqueror, a benefactor, and as a semi-divine leader, and to proclaim the superiority of the Spanish Crown.

As various scholars have shown, these characteristics apply just as readily to late sixteenth and seventeenth-century ceremonies as they do to those of the eighteenth century.[4] What distinguished eighteenth-century royal spectacles from those of earlier periods was their increased size and grandeur. Spain's first Bourbon monarch assumed the throne in 1701, inaugurating a period of gradual centralization, fiscal streamlining, and imperial reforms, that culminated with drastic changes instituted during the reign of Charles III. In 1765, José de Gálvez arrived in New Spain to enact a series of sweeping reforms; he cut the amount municipal councils could spend on ceremonies, reduced the number of various municipalities' patron saints days, and also increased the amount that certain cities could spend on specific royal ceremonies. Despite the economic imperatives of the Spanish Crown, administrators recognized the importance of ceremony

[4] For a discussion of the image of the Habsburg and Bourbon kings, see Alejandra Osorio, "The King in Lima: Simulacra, Ritual, and Rule in Seventeenth-Century Peru, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84:3 (2004), pp. 447-474; Víctor Mínguez, *Los reyes distantes: imágenes del poder en el México virreinal* (Castelló de la Plana: Universidat Jaume I, 1995); C. Lisón Tolosana, *La imagen del rey: monarquía, realeza y poder ritual en la Casa de los Austrias* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1992); José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran (Minneopolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

for maintaining imperial legitimacy. While limiting the amount Puebla's cabildo spent on public ceremonies, royal officials allowed, and even encouraged, the growth of other spectacles celebrating the Crown and what amounted to a cult of the king.

Historian Linda A. Curcio-Nagy has noted that expenditure for oath ceremonies increased over the eighteenth century and has correlated this increase to the centralizing objectives of the Bourbon monarchs.[5] Art historian Francisco de la Maza has noted that funerary catafalques grew in size over the course of the eighteenth century, attributing this increase to the rising popularity of the neo-classic style and more substantial, temple-like, ephemeral structures.[6] The case of Puebla, however, supports Curcio's contention that centralizing objectives affected the choreography and ephemeral artwork of royal celebrations. By delving into various types of celebrations, such as birthdays and feast days, we can see how more elaborate *juras* and *exequias* fit within a general program of showcasing the strength of the monarchy. But before addressing the relationship between royal ceremony and Bourbon absolutism, I focus on how specific aspects of the rituals worked to establish a shared idiom regarding the sacredness of monarchy and the power of the beneficent king. They emphasized, moreover, the transcendental nature of the Spanish Monarchy.

Oath ceremonies and royal funerary honors glorified the ideal of empire, embodied in the almost mythic characterization of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who

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[5] Administrators, however, had guilds defray the costs of the ceremony. See Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), esp. pp. 101-119.

[6] Francisco de la Maza, *Las piras funerarias en la historia y en el arte de México: Grabados, litografías y documentos del siglo XVI al XIX* (Mexico City: Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1946).

ruled over Austria, the Low Countries, possessions in northern Europe and Italy, Spain, and the Indies in the sixteenth century. Contemporaries envisioned Charles V soon becoming emperor over the entire world, but this vision would never be realized. Fearing his death would occasion rivals to conquer regions of his vast empire, Charles V passed the imperial crown onto his brother, leaving Philip II with the thrones of Milan and Naples, Sicily, the Netherlands, and Spain and the Indies. In this way, the emperor sought to preserve Spain's kingdoms and assure long-term peace.

The mystique of universal empire endured, however, and oath ceremonies and funerary honors continued to celebrate military expansion and evangelization. As the great defender of the Catholic Church, the emperor became the consolidator of not only universal empire, but also universal religion. In 1509, Pope Gregory XIV granted the Spanish Crown permission to publicize the *Bula de la Santa Cruzada*, and this privilege grew in importance throughout the course of the sixteenth century. After the periodic publication of the bull, Spain's subjects could purchase a plenary indulgence, and the Crown used the proceeds to wage war against "Moors, Turks, heretics," and other enemies of the faith.[7] Municipal councils, in turn, marked the publication of the bull with fireworks, music, and elaborate processions. Cathedral chapter members in charge of the publication organized their own festivities and sometimes even entertained the populace with bullfights. As the Crown accrued donations, the populace enjoyed a variety of entertainments with the option of assuring their spiritual salvation. As if there could be any doubt regarding the significance of the celebration, the procession inaugurating the

[7] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 262r-263r.

publication showcased the royal standard, reminding all of the inextricable link binding Church and empire.[8]

Many types of public commemorations conflated territorial expansion with evangelization. Foremost among these were oath ceremonies and funerary honors, which characterized Spanish monarchs as defenders of the faith. These recalled the Habsburg origin myth and the special relationship that the Spanish monarchy enjoyed with the Holy Sacrament and Immaculate Conception. While contemporaries widely regarded French monarchs as divine incarnations, Spanish kings benefited from an almost contractual, or reciprocal, relationship with God. In exchange for defending the faith and promoting Catholicism, God and the saints protected the Spanish Crown from terrestrial dangers.

In 1271, God graced the founder of the Habsburg dynasty, Rudolph I of Germany, with divine favor as a reward for lending his horse to a priest carrying the viaticum to the home of a dying man. Charles V, Philip II, Philip III, Philip IV and Charles II all cemented the pact by paying reverence to the host either by accompanying it to its destination or by giving up their coaches to carry the wafer.[9] In 1701, as Spain stood on the brink of what became the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713), the protagonists of Puebla's *jura* for Philip V chose to emphasize the contract between God and Spain, cemented by the monarchy's devotion to the Holy Sacrament. When the *alférez* entered the Cathedral on the day of the *jura*, he moved immediately to the main

[8] Viceroy Antonio Bucareli to the cabildo, Mexico City, 19 November 1773, AMP, RC 10, folios 405r-406r.

[9] Javier Varela, *La muerte del Rey: El ceremonial funerario de la monarquía española (1500-1885)* (Madrid: Turner Libros, 1990), pp. 75-76. Víctor Mínguez states that this event occurred in 1267. For an analysis of artistic representations of the origin myth, see Mínguez, "La monarquía humillada. Un estudio sobre las imágenes del poder y el poder de las imágenes," *Relaciones* 77: 20 (1999), pp. 125-148.

altar and lowered the standard three times before the host.[10] Ceremonial protocol did not require this act, and in light of the current crisis organizers may have wanted to suggest that the Bourbon Philip V would continue to earn divine favor for Spain; in keeping with the Habsburg tradition, the *alférez* had the new Bourbon monarch (as represented by the standard) humble himself before the Host. Cathedral Canon Gómez de la Parra explicitly addressed the foundation myth in his eulogy for Charles II. He recounted, for example, God's pact with Rudolph I and described how he reaffirmed his commitment to the Holy Sacrament by asking the Pope's permission to display the host in the Royal Chapel.[11] Future monarchs would continue the Habsburg tradition of revering the Eucharist. Charles III, for example, "alighted from his carriage and knelt on the ground as willingly as any commoner whenever a priest passed carrying the Eucharist to the dying."[12]

As popular devotion to the Immaculate Conception increased in the seventeenth century, the Habsburg monarchs elevated her to one of the empire's primary patronesses. The cabildo of Puebla began celebrating an elaborate yearly fiesta for the Immaculate Conception in 1616, complete with fireworks, mock jousts, and processions, but the custom did not outlast the seventeenth century.[13] Nevertheless, devotion to the virgin served as a prerequisite for receiving full membership in the cabildo; in their oath of office, Puebla's *regidores* vowed to defend the mystery of the Immaculate Conception. The Immaculate Conception had a strong following in Puebla; the cabildo swore a public

[10] Auto de cómo se alzaron pendones, 10 April 1701, AMP, AC 34, folio 648v.
[11] Joseph Gómez de la Parra, *Grano de trigo fecundo de virtudes en la vida, fecundissimo por la succession en la muerte, la catholica magestad del Rey nuestro señor Don Carlos Segundo [. . .]* (Puebla: Herederos del Capitán Juan de Villa-Real, 1701), pp. 11-13.
[12] William J. Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 4.
[13] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 149r-151r.

oath to defend the mystery in 1619, approximately three decades before a royal order to do so, and in 1649 Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza inaugurated Puebla's cathedral under the Virgin's patronage.[14] In 1653, cabildos and cathedral chapters followed royal instructions and swore public oaths to honor the Virgin Mary; in 1654, the Crown ordered churches to hold an annual mass for the Virgin to acknowledge her patronage of Spain; and in 1698, a royal cédula ordered Mexican churches to hold a yearly novena in honor of the Immaculate Conception in a chapel dedicated especially to her.[15] The cathedral chapter dedicated several panegyric sermons to the Immaculate Conception and in 1760, the Bourbon monarchy continued the tradition by finally succeeding in making her an official patroness of the Spanish Empire.[16]

In 1701, when the archdeacon stepped up to the altar for the *jura* mass he mirrored the *alférez'* act of devotion to the Holy Sacrament by lowering the royal standard before an image of the Immaculate Conception. Through this act he not only paid homage to the patroness of Puebla's Cathedral, but according to one official account, he also honored the "great Lady . . . in whose shadow Spain enjoys its greatest glories."[17] Charles II's funerary sermon reminded poblanos that after Philip III, all of Spain's monarchs had sought papal recognition of the mystery, and that like his father

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[14] Rosalva Loreto López, "La fiesta de la Concepción y las identidades colectivas, Puebla (1619-1636)," in *Manifestaciones religiosas en el mundo colonial americano*, ed. Clara García Ayluardo and Manuel Ramos Medina, vol. 2 (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1993-1994), pp. 87-104.
[15] Óscar Mazín Gómez, "Culto y devociones en la catedral de Valladolid de Michoacán, 1586-1780," in *Tradición e identidad en la cultura mexicana*, ed. Agustín Jacinto Zavala and Álvaro Ochoa Serrano (Morelia: Colegio de Michoacán, 1995), pp. 316-317, 326.
[16] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 153r-164r.
[17] Ambrosio Francisco de Ponce de León Montoya y Cárdenas, *Diseño Festivo del Amor. Obstentiva Muestra de la Lealtad, Acclamacion Alegre Con que la muy noble, Augusta Imperial Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles en el dia diez de Abril del Año de 1701. Juro por su Rey, y Señor natural al Invinctissimo Señor D. Phelipe V. de este nombre, Monarcha Supremo de dos Mundos* (Puebla: Herrederos del Capitan Juan Villa Real, 1702), folio 27r.

Charles II had included a clause in his testament beseeching the Papacy to acknowledge the virginity of Mary's mother. The canon continued by relating how the devotion of the Habsburg kings provided the empire with a strong foundation resting on two columns, and compared these to those on which the Temple of Solomon rested and to the mythic columns that Hercules, the legendary founder of Spain, purportedly erected at the Straights of Gibraltar. The Holy Sacrament and Immaculate Conception therefore served not only as the foundation of the faith, but also of the empire. Just as God had favored Israel, he favored Spain, and according to the canon, the empire needed neither armaments nor castles while protected by these two great mysteries. Finally, he assured his audience that God would continue to favor Spain by citing Charles II's charge to all future monarchs to defend the Catholic faith.[18]

In addition to celebrating the piety of the monarch, royal ceremonies highlighted globes and compared Spain's rulers to an array of heroes, and especially to the great redeemer Jesus Christ and first-tier mythological figures such as Apollo and Hercules. The frontal piece of the *Siete partidas* of Alfonso the Wise (the thirteenth-century compilation of Castilian law) depicted the mythical columns supposedly placed by Hercules at the Straits of Gibraltar, with the Latin mote *Non Plus Ultra* ("Not farther than") to emphasize the limits of the known world. Charles V adapted this image as his personal device, with the Latin mote "*Plus Ultra*," to represent his extension of Spain's empire into the Americas.[19] As J. H. Elliot has noted, "By breaking beyond the Pillar of

[18] Gómez de la Parra, *Grano de trigo*, pp. 13-16, 28.
[19] For more on the insignia, see Earl Rosenthal, "Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971), pp. 204-228.

Hercules, Spaniards were conscious of achieving something that surpassed even the Romans."[20] Well into the eighteenth century, Spanish intellectuals continued to imagine the dawn of universal expansion and to borrow on classical mythology to equate Spain with ancient Greece and Rome and celebrate imperial consolidation. Mexico City's catafalque for Ferdinand IV, for example, incorporated four statues representing the four parts of the world, each weeping over the death of Ferdinand VI. The structure displayed two globes, representing Spain and the Indies.[21]

In the eighteenth century, the poblano cabildo continued to commission elaborate structures for oath ceremonies and funerary honors, but few descriptions of their emblematic programs remain. Fortunately, however, the municipal archive holds rich descriptions of the century's first succession ceremonies for Charles II and Philip V.[22] As Spain stood on the brink of the War of the Spanish Succession, subjects needed to face what must have seemed an inconceivable notion –military conquest by a foreign power and fragmentation of the Spanish Empire. Rumors about the consequences of Charles II's infertility had long abounded at the Spanish court; courtiers gossiped about the king's sex life with his wives and, when it became painfully clear that no heir would be forthcoming, they wondered about whom Charles II would choose to succeed him and the influence of family and favorites on his decision.[23] The choice of Philip V surprised

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[20] J.H. Elliot, "Spain and Its Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 8.
[21] Santiago Sebastián, "Los jeroglíficos del catafalco mexicano de Fernando VI," in *Arte funerario: coloquio internacional de historia del arte*, ed. Beatriz de la Fuente, vol. 1 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987), p. 232.
[22] See my analysis of the succession rituals; Frances Lourdes Ramos, "Succession and Death: Royal Ceremonies in Colonial Puebla," *Americas* 60:2 (October 2003), pp. 185-215.
[23] See José Calvo Poyato, *Carlos II el hechizado y su época* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1991).

many of Spain's subjects. During the king's last years, Leopold I of Austria repeatedly claimed the Crown on behalf of his son, the Archduke Charles, in a romantic hope of reintegrating the Spanish dominions into the Holy Roman Empire. In 1698, however, Charles II chose Joseph Ferdinand, the electoral prince of Bavaria, as heir. Only after Joseph Ferdinand's death in February 1699 did Charles II select Philip V, great-grandson of his father Philip IV, and grandson of the French king Louis XIV.[24]

Although Puebla's councilmen prided themselves on presenting a variety of public spectacles, the transition from one monarch to another threatened potential disorder, and so required careful management.[25] In 1701, Spain's subjects experienced not only the death of their king, but the end of an entire ruling dynasty, and the succession ceremonies reflected anxiety regarding the future of the empire. Mexico City's *exequias*, for example, compared the death of Charles II to the eclipse of the sun, and bemoaned not only the death of the monarch, but also the demise of the "kingdom."[26] Seven years later, with the birth of crown prince Luis I, the *poblano* elite cautioned against rebellion. The city's militia captains sponsored a triumphal cart that likened Luis I to the mythological hero Hercules, warning that just as Hercules defeated the Hydra, the prince would quash internal rebels for siding with the Austrian Alliance.[27] Although the impact of the transition to Bourbon rule on colonial Spanish America has hardly been

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[24] Trevor R. Davis, *Spain in Decline: 1621-1700* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1965), pp. 109-143.
[25] Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 250-260.
[26] Víctor Mínguez, *Los reyes solares: iconografía astral de la monarquía hispánica* (Castelló de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 2001), p. 262.
[27] Antonio de Heredia, *Elogio genethliaco, festivo paen, que en un carro triumphal en las fiestas, con que esta Muy Noble, y Cesarea Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles, celebró el feliz nacimiento de nuestro pincipe, y señor D. Luis Felipe [. . .]* (Puebla: Imprenta de D. Joseph Pérez, 1709).

studied, New Spain's bureaucrats recognized the danger inherent in the change. Apprehensions regarding Philip V's reception eventually led New Spain's high-level bureaucrats to take concrete measures to contain disloyal influences. In 1706, for example, New Spain's viceroy, the Duke of Albuquerque, jailed several people for being *desafectos*, or indifferent, to Philip V.[28] In January 1707, Puebla's *alcalde mayor* announced that anyone who uttered disparaging remarks about the king would have his or her right ear cut off.[29]

Because New Spain's leaders feared that the change in ruling dynasty would occasion disorder, they needed to establish continuity between the authority of the new ruler and that of his legitimate predecessors.[30] In general, succession ceremonies worked to do this by staying true to the accepted format and by incorporating symbolism used to legitimize previous rulers. Recently, however, scholars have begun to turn their attention to how these self-consciously traditional events evolved over time. Javier Varela has noted the impact of the Enlightenment on the protocol for royal funerary honors in Spain. Yet, the succession rituals did not merely evolve according to changing imperial objectives, but could also adapt to meet unforeseen crises. Spain's succession ceremonies evolved slowly, partially because, as José Antonio Maravall noted, the Habsburgs mistrusted novelty and used choreographed rituals to "guide" subjects towards

[28] See, for example, El fiscal con Alberto de Rada y Oreña, alcalde mayor de Tepeaca y Tecali, sobre ser desafecto al rey Felipe V, 1708, Archivo General de Indias, Escribanía 190A.
[29] Duke of Albuquerque to Puebla's cabildo, with a note by Juan José de Veytia y Linaje, Mexico City, 28 January 1707, AMP, RC 10, folio 191r-191v.
[30] David Kertzer has argued that succession rituals generally seek to assure spectators of continuity in governance. See *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 27.

compliance.[31] But even if the succession rituals resisted change, they had to adapt to changing circumstances. As anthropologist David Kertzer has argued, it is precisely during times of crisis that innovation is most likely to occur. Changes, however, are often subtle, and frequently center on reformulating preexisting symbols to meet the changing context.[32] Because the ceremonial script allowed for innovative practice, Puebla's organizers could introduce Spain's first Bourbon monarch using the time-honored Habsburg script.

The protocol for the oath ceremony and funerary honors strengthened the legitimacy of the new king, but within the established guidelines, organizers also addressed the succession crisis. All *juras del rey* glorified imperialism by encouraging subjects to anticipate military conquest and territorial expansion. In Madrid's funerary honors for Philip IV, for example, the catafalque bore an emblem that depicted two globes linked by a single crown resting atop. According to art historian Steven Orso, the globes represented Europe and America, and the crown represented the king's dominion over both territories.[33] Two councilmen supervised the design of Puebla's *jura* platform, and the cabildo commissioned Jesuit priests to decorate it with emblems and poetry. These designers chose to borrow directly from the traditional imagery of empire, including, for example, an emblem depicting Philip V seated upon a throne straddling two globes, one globe representing the Old World and the other the New.[34] During this

[31] Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, pp. 226-247.
[32] Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, pp. 42-43.
[33] Steven N. Orso, *Art and Death at the Spanish Habsburg Court: The Royal Exequies for Philip IV* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), pp. 85-86.
[34] Actas, 27 March 1701, AMP, AC 34, folio 632r; Ponce de León Montoya y Cárdenas, *Diseño festivo*, folio 8.

delicate period, poblano officials chose to tackle the issue of the war directly and to celebrate the king's eventual victory.

The platform harkened back to the ideal of universal empire, possibly because Philip V had Louis XIV, the most powerful ruler in the world, as his grandfather and as his primary supporter during the war. England, Austria, and the United Provinces contested the succession partially for fear that Spain and France would seek world domination, and Puebla's *jura* platform, with its incorporation of Charles V's personal insignia, seemed to echo this very real possibility. At the foot of the platform's base, the designers placed two large columns, with the mote "*Non Plus Ultra*," possibly to communicate the American limits of Philip V's empire.[35]

The Jesuits, however, did not merely allude to the dream of universal empire, or limit themselves to cryptic references to the war. In general, oath ceremonies served primarily to present an abstraction of kingly virtue, or a monarch whose characteristics remained more or less the same with each proclamation.[36] It was in the subtle details, however, that spectators could discern references to current events. The ephemeral artwork of royal ceremonies typically exalted monarchs by making direct comparisons between their virtues and those of Greco-Roman heroes, a standard convention during this period of reverence for the classical world.[37] More often than not, however, designers gave most emphasis to a single mythological hero, chosen to represent the king.

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[35] Ponce de León Montoya y Cárdenas, *Diseño festivo*, folio 6v.
[36] Mínguez, *Los reyes distantes*, p. 18.
[37] For an idea of the extent of this practice see Francisco de la Maza, *La mitología clásica en el arte colonial de México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1968) and Francisco Checa, "Arquitectura efímera e imagen del poder," in *Sor Juan y su mundo*, ed. Sara Poot Herrera (Mexico City: CONACYT, 1995), pp. 253-305.

The Jesuits and councilmen in charge of Puebla's platform could have elected to compare Philip V to any number of mythological figures, and Curcio-Nagy has established that Mexico City's eighteenth-century platforms always associated Spanish kings with Apollo.[38] In Puebla, however, organizers equated Philip V with Mars, the Roman god of war, and the platform reinforced the theme by displaying an assortment of weapons near the standard -- weapons which the king's armies would need to defeat the Austrian Alliance. A poem displayed prominently upon the platform stated that with the arms of Bellona (the female warrior goddess in whose temple the Roman senate made proclamations of war), Philip V (as Mars) would emerge triumphant.[39]

In 1708, for the celebrations in honor of the birth of the first Bourbon heir to the Spanish throne, poblanos would again employ military rhetoric to explain the war and exalt the military prowess of the monarchy. Festival organizers described the war as a defense of Christendom. As noted, councilmen had the city's volunteer battalion design a triumphal cart that equated the infant prince to Hercules – a multivalent symbol that could be used to characterize both a military victor and a spiritual redeemer.

Enthusiasm for Hercules extended throughout Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Greco-Roman mythology actually recorded six different Hercules figures, but all became conflated into one hero who, during his travels in Europe, had established a series of royal lineages, including those of the Burgundian princes and the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs.[40] The Spanish Habsburgs claimed a special

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[38] Curcio, "Saints, Sovereignty, and Spectacle," pp. 188-198 and Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*, 72-73. Also see Mínguez, *Los reyes solares*, pp. 211-245.
[39] Montoya y Cárdenas Ponce de León, *Diseño festivo*, folio 7r-7v.
[40] Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliot, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip*

proprietorship over the Hercules myth, as one of his major labors -- the capture of King Gerion's cattle -- was believed to have occurred in southern Spain. French monarchs, moreover, also indulged the idea of descent from Hercules. Late medieval and early modern chroniclers claimed that during his travels through Iberia, the hero founded lineages, erected columns at the Straits of Gibraltar, and founded cities, such as Cadiz and Seville in Andalusia.[41] Hercules became popular among fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century Spanish authors and emblematists, and even inspired an emblem book devoted entirely to his adventures.[42] The hero represented the inception of Spanish civilization, a culture that poblanos carefully nurtured in America.

In 1708, celebrations took place over the course of four days in mid-July, throughout which time Puebla's Franciscan convent, Dominican convent, and Cathedral held masses in honor of the royal birth.[43] The cabildo punctuated the commemoration with fireworks displays, and requested the city's university students, indigenous community, guilds, and the city's merchants and owners of cacao stores to organize

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IV (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 157-160.

[41] Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *La mitología clásica y el arte español del renacimiento* (Madrid: Imprenta y Editorial Maestre, 1952), pp. 65-123; Florence also claimed Hercules as its patron and protector. See Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Traditions and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism*, trans. Barbara F. Sessions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 20.

[42] Juan Francisco Fernández de Heredia, *Trabajos, y afanes de Hércules, floresta de sentencias, y exemplos* (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1682), in *Enciclopedia Akal de emblemas españolas ilustrados*, ed. Bernat Vistarini and John T. Cull (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1999).

[43] Jacinto Bernardez de Rivera, Sermon que en accion de gracias ofrecio â Dios, y à su Purissima Madre el Convento de las Llagas de Nuestro Seraphico Padre S. Francisco de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles [. . .] (Mexico City: Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1708); Alonso Gil, Oración panegyrica que en la celebridad que en acción de gracias por el felis nacimiento de nuestro señor, y Principe hizo el convento de N.P.S. Domingo de la Puebla [. . .] (Puebla: Imprenta de Diego Fernández de León, 1708); José Gómez de la Parra, Famosos triumphos y victoriosos tropheos [. . .] en honor de la Immaculada Concepción de Maria SS. N. S. su titular, para dar gracias a Dios N.S. por el feliz Nacimiento de su Alteza [. . .] (Puebla: Oficina de D. José Pérez, N.d). For a detailed analysis of the festivities, see Frances Lourdes Ramos, "Arte efímero, espectáculo, y la reafirmación de la autoridad real en Puebla durante el siglo XVIII: La celebración en honor del Hércules borbónico," *Relaciones* 97 (Winter 2004), 179-218.

masquerades.[44] Upon the invitation of the cabildo, the four captains of the city's volunteer battalion rode through the streets in the company of 400 costumed horsemen. At the center of the throng stood the impressive triumphal cart, a two-story fortress complete with towers, pendants, emblems, and eight painted canvases dedicated to the early childhood of the mythological figure Hercules.[45]

By comparing Luis I to Hercules, the designers of the triumphal cart indirectly equated the prince with the Savior. In artwork dating from the sixteenth century, Hercules had been commonly associated with Jesus Christ, as both destroyed the elements of disorder: Hercules defeated monsters, such as the multi-headed Hydra, and Christ destroyed evil, allegorically represented by a snake or dragon.[46] In the early modern period, the Corpus Christi processions of the Spanish Empire typically included a *tarasca*, or dragon, often with seven heads, representing the seven deadly sins. In the seventeenth century, designers of Corpus Christi carts frequently entwined effigies of dragons, sometimes referred to as Hydras, near the wheels, illustrating how Christ trampled over evil.[47] In this war against Protestant forces, the equation proved fitting.

As Hercules and Christ performed miraculous acts for the betterment of mankind, so the triumphal cart promised that Luis I would do the same for Spain. The cart, first of

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[44] Actas, 3 January 1708, AMP-BNAH, AC 36, folios 14v-19v.
[45] Francisco de la Maza excerpted part of the printed description in *La mitología clásica en el arte colonial de México*, pp. 142-146. Víctor Mínguez commented briefly on the cart in *Los reyes distantes*, p. 54. Antonio de Heredia refers to the patrons of the triumphal cart as simply the "*capitanes del batallón*." It is nevertheless clear that these captains pertained to the elite and served in Puebla's Regiment of Commerce. See Lyle N. McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar" in New Spain: 1764-1800* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1957), p. 93.
[46] Angulo Iñiguez, *La mitología y el arte español del renacimiento,* pp. 92-95.
[47] Teresa Gisbert, "Calderón de la Barca y la pintura virreinal andina," in *Iconología y sociedad: arte colonial hispanoamericano*, ed. Congreso Internacional de Americanistas (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), pp. 230-231

all, promised that the prince would perform the miracle of ending the war by inspiring and uniting Spain's subjects. In the dedication to the sermon in Puebla's Dominican convent, Prior Diego de la Vera cast Luis I's role in ending the war. He recounted how the Duke of Bramante took the infant Luis I to the battlefield to display him before the soldiers, who reportedly became so moved that they vowed to win the war. According to Vera, the infant would "be the means by which Catholic arms triumph over those of the enemies."[48] Cathedral canon Gómez de la Parra also saw in the infant a source of inspiration. In his sermon given in Puebla's cathedral, he related how upon hearing of the birth of his nephew, the Duke of Orleans (captain of the Bourbon armies in Spain) rushed to restore the city of Lérida to the Spanish Crown.[49] By characterizing Luis I as a harbinger of victory and a source of motivation, the canon made the infant into a warrior, again, similar to Hercules. He recounted how immediately after birth, Spartans placed male infants on a shield to indicate their future as warriors, adding that, Alcmene, the mother of Hercules, had also placed her child on a shield to foreshadow his destiny. Because Luis I served as a source of motivation and loyalty, the canon compared him to the newborn "warriors" who lost their lives during King Herod's holocaust of infants directed against the Savior. For the canon, Luis I would follow in the biblical tradition of the "*guerreros infantes*," or "infant warriors."[50]

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[48] Gil, *Oración panegyric*a, unpaginated. The original Spanish reads "el medio para que las armas Católicas triunfen de las enemigas."

[49] Gómez de la Parra, *Famosos triumphos y victoriosos tropheos.*, p. 33; Lérida, the principal city on the route between Barcelona and Zaragoza, fell to the Austrian Alliance in 1705. Henry Kamen, *La Guerra de la Sucesión en España (1700-1715)*, trans. Enrique Obregón (Barcelona: Ediciones Grijalbo, 1974 (1969)), p. 285.

[50] Gómez de la Parra, *Famosos triumphos y victoriosos tropheos*, pp. 59-65.

While Puebla's religious leaders represented the prince as a source of inspiration, the designers of the cart also attributed to the infant the power to actively fight Spain's enemies. The cart's fifth canvas depicted Mercury taking Hercules to Chiron, a master of warfare, to anoint the child with a balm that would help him withstand the "toils of war."[51] The Hercules canvases, however, not only worked to transform the infant prince into a warrior, but the painting atop the fortress did so as well. Standing on the pinnacle of the cart, Luis I seemed to keep watch over his territory. The 400 horsemen in turn, seemed to guard the prince. Because the cart displayed pendants representing each of Spain's kingdoms, it is clear that the designers intended the fortress to represent the empire, thereby communicating that the prince and his loyal legions would protect it from attacking enemies.[52]

Later oath ceremonies and funerary honors continued to glorify the king as conqueror and consolidator of empire. For Charles III's oath ceremony, the platform displayed emblems depicting the king as a lion, the premiere symbol of royalty, with the sun sidling up to bask in his greatness. The sun, around which the entire universe revolved, could not match the strength of what the platform characterized as the world's most powerful ruler. Other emblems continued the theme; some alluded to Mars, the god of war, while others compared the king to the sun and correspondingly, to Apollo.[53]

While festive art reinforced the imperial ethos, it also worked to impress onlookers with the permanence of monarchy. Overall, the ceremonies presented an

[51] Heredia, *Elogio genethliaco*, p. A10. "para sufrir las afanes de lucha . . ."
[52] *Ibid.*, p. A4.
[53] See Anonymous, *Rasgo Epico*, pp. 2-5.

abstraction of kingly virtue and argued that despite a particular king's death, "monarchy" lived on. Writing about England, Ernst Kantorowicz argued that late medieval kings received legitimacy primarily through lineage, thus freeing them from the need to be chosen by the Church or elected by the people.[54] In Iberia, however, nobles "acclaimed" the king, reinforcing the notion that sovereignty resided with the people. As Angus Mackay has demonstrated, this ideal of electing the king dated back to the fifteenth century, when Castilian nobles proclaimed allegiance to kings by lifting them upon their shields and parading them victoriously.[55] Although the notion that sovereignty resided with the people persisted, by the sixteenth century people generally understood that the king had a divine-right to rule. Subjects did not necessarily equate the king with God, as they did in France, but acknowledged the monarchy's sacred pact to defend Christianity. This subtle distinction served to keep the king in an ambiguous position: not a man, but not God.[56] Nonetheless, royal ceremonies stressed that the king's authority existed even after death.

In light of the end of the Habsburg ruling dynasty and the impending War of the Spanish Succession, in 1701 the organizers of Charles II's funerary rights struggled to communicate the permanence of monarchy. Gómez de la Parra, the cathedral canon in charge of the funerary sermon, focused on the "adoption" of Philip V by Charles II and the implications for Spain's future. While many panegyric sermons compared the person

[54] See Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).
[55] Angus MacKay, "Ritual and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Castile," *Past & Present* 107 (1985), pp. 3-43.
[56] See Timothy E. Anna, "Spain and the Breakdown of the Imperial Ethos: The Problem of Equality." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 62 (1982), pp. 254-272.

being praised to biblical figures, Gómez de la Parra chose to compare Charles II to Christ, who saved the world through his death, and to God, who adopted David to rule Israel. Basing himself on the Gospel of John, the canon compared Charles II to the Savior, who in turn compared himself to the "grain of wheat" that falls alone to the ground, but through death bears "fruit." According to the sermon, in life Charles II could not replenish the Habsburg line because his extreme piety required him to remain celibate even during marriage. The gossip of courtiers of course belied the king's celibacy, but the canon sought to transform his failure to produce heirs into a sign of holiness. He argued that Charles II "conceived" Philip V through his testament, just as God made David the King of Israel through his words: "Ask me, and I will give you your inheritance, that is your own; because you are the first born son."[57]

The canon promised that the death of the "grain of wheat" would lead to "multiplication," putting an end to Spain's "afflictions of sterility." But while promising regeneration, the honors sought to reassure the populace that the transition would not lead to destabilizing change. After establishing the paternal and divine qualities of the monarch and Philip V's position as legitimate heir, the sermon described how the "fruit" of the godlike king would continue to protect the Spanish Empire in the tradition of Philip V's Spanish "ancestors." The sermon informed the audience that little change would come with the new ruling dynasty because when a grain of wheat dies, it multiplies "in many other grains of the same kind."[58] The canon assured his poblano audience that God's favor would not end with the death of the last Spanish Habsburg by

[57] Gómez de la Parra, *Grano de trigo*, p. 5; cf. John 12:25.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

mentioning Louis XIV, Philip V's grandfather, and his defense of the Catholic faith and, more pointedly, Philip V's familial ties to the Spanish Habsburgs. Gómez de la Parra partially sought to legitimize the Bourbon king by emphasizing his Habsburg lineage; but if the audience still harbored doubts regarding where Philip V's loyalties would lie, the canon tried to assuage them by reminding listeners that Christ was known not as Jesus of Bethlehem for his place of birth, but as Jesus of Nazareth for the place where he was raised. Furthermore, poblanos need not worry because Charles II died "in order to multiply in other grains of his same Hierarchy, of his same blood, of his same lineage, [and] of the Illustrious House of Austria . . ."[59]

The ceremonies of 1701 generally followed Habsburg protocol, incorporating dramatic imagery to present the monarch as an almost omnipotent power. Even the most mundane components of the celebration had the potential to conjure awe for the ever-increasing power of the monarchy. For example, the stage for the oath ceremony, the *tablado*, increased in height and splendor throughout the course of the eighteenth century. For Mexico City, Curcio-Nagy regarded the enlargement of oath ceremony platforms as evidence for the increased authority of the Bourbon monarchy, an increase that corresponded conversely to the decreasing size and importance of arches for viceregal entries. Indeed, with the increasing popularity of the neo-classic style, oath ceremony platforms not only became more substantial, but began resembling triumphal arches.[60] As shall be examined in the following chapter, the Crown limited the amount municipal councils could spend on viceregal entries and, in Mexico City at least, councilmen

[59] *Ibid*., pp. 37-40, 31.
[60] Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festival of Mexico City*, p. 71.

commissioned smaller and less elaborate triumphal arches. In Puebla, it is probable that triumphal arches for viceregal entrances also decreased in size, but because the city lacks descriptions of cabildo-sponsored triumphal arches for the eighteenth century, it is impossible to make a confident inverse correlation between the two types of ephemeral structures. Puebla's oath ceremony platforms, however, increased in size and grandeur and, in 1760, at least one account of Charles III's *jura* referred to the platform as a "triumphal arch."[61]

The *tablado* served as the stage for the ceremony's primary event, the declaration of New Spain's fidelity to the monarch. Organizers always gave great attention to the construction of the *jura* platform, and to the decorative emblems and poetry that graced it. The cabildo accepted bids from artisans to construct the platform and after reviewing designs, hired the craftsmen who could build the most elegant platform for the lowest possible price. Councilmen, however, kept vigilant watch over its construction, making sure it left the best aesthetic impression. In 1666, for the oath ceremony in honor of Charles II, councilmen accepted a bid to construct the *jura* platform for 850 pesos, but demanded that the two carpenters in charge add columns. The craftsmen had initially wanted to place four columns on the bottom floor and no columns on the top, but in order to make the stage more spectacular, councilmen demanded eight columns on the first floor, with the addition of four on the second (Fig. 1).[62]

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[61] Anonymous, *Rasgo Epico*, p. 4.

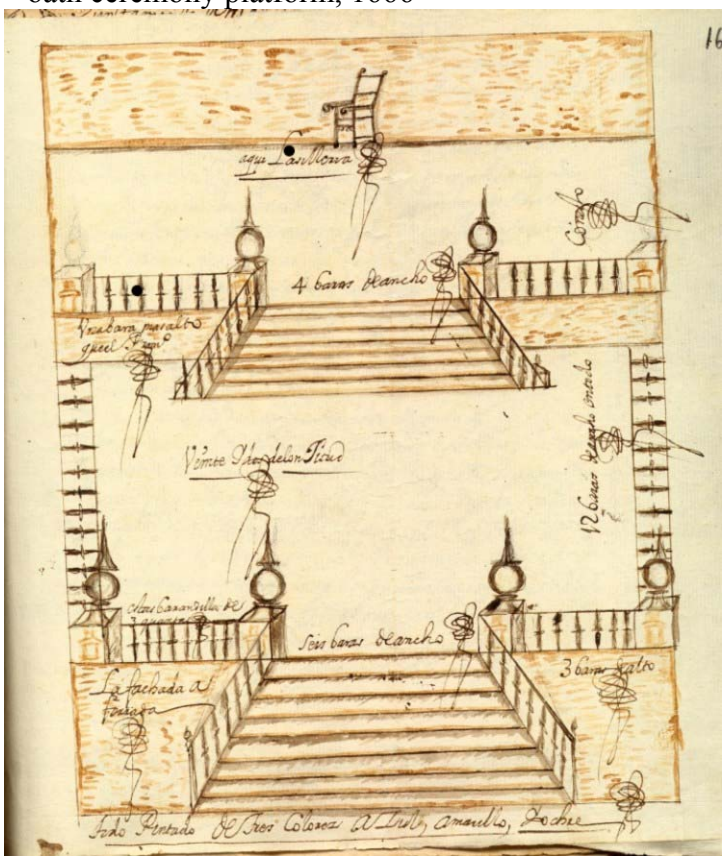
[62] Actas, 17 June 1666, AMP-BNAH, AC 26, folio 267v. The artisans' original sketch of the 1666 oath-ceremony platform can be found in Lutos por Felipe Cuarto 1666, AMP, Expedientes 208, Legajo 2472, folios 154-182v.

From the onset of the eighteenth century, the sheer height of *jura* platforms and funerary catafalques likely inspired the awe of spectators. Certainly, that was the intent. In 1701, for the oath ceremony for Philip V, organizers chose to copy the *tablado* erected for the 1666 *jura* for Charles II; the stage's first level stood 5 *varas* high, 10 *varas* long, and 8 *varas* wide (1 *vara* equaled approximately 3 feet) (Fig. 1). Artisans decorated it with the city's coat of arms, the royal coat of arms, and allegorical emblems, and surrounded the massive piece with gold and blue railings.[63] The second level stood 1 *vara* high and 2 *varas* wide, and bore a throne on which sat a portrait of Philip V.[64] Although lacking a detailed description of the oath ceremony platform for Luis I in 1724, it is likely that carpenters built it along similar dimensions; during a planning meeting, organizers stated their intention of using Ferdinand IV's *jura* platform as a model for his son's *tablado*.[65] For Ferdinad VI's *jura* platform, carpenters built a base eighteen *varas* square. It did not have a second floor, but instead a canvas eleven *varas* high hung over it. Emblems surrounded the canvas and at center artisans placed a large canopy which covered a portrait of Ferdinand VI.[66] Charles III's oath ceremony platform also soared above the heads of spectators, announcing the authority of the Bourbon house, and possibly, as Curcio-Nagy has argued, the growth of the centralized absolutist state. The

[63] Actas, 27 March 1701, AMP, AC 34, folios 633v-634.
[64] Anonymous. *Noticia de la real aclamacion, que debió hacer, é hizo la muy noble, y muy leal Ciudad de los Angeles en la Jura de la Cesarea, y Católica Magestad del Señor D. Phelipe V. Rey de ambas Españas* (Puebla: Imprenta de los Herederos del Capitán Juan de Villa Real, 1702), B2; Actas, 27 March 1701, AMP, AC 34, folios 633v-634.
[65] Actas, 10 July 1724, AMP-BNAH, AC 40, folio 284.
[66] Testimonio de lo ejecutado en el real acto de alzar pendones por nuestro invictísimo monarca el Señor Don Fernando Sexto, 15 April 1747, AMP, Expedientes 208, folios 252v-253.

platform rose to a height of eighteen *varas*, approximately fifty-four feet high, and resembled a triumphal arch.[67]

Fig. 1
Diego de los Santos and Antonio Pérez's sketch for Charles II's oath ceremony platform, 1666



Source: AMP, Expedientes 208, folio 16.

Catafalques also increased in height and splendor. Although the exact dimensions of the catafalque for the ill-fated Luis I (who ruled for less than one year) are unknown, the base of the three-story structure filled a massive space. Like all of Puebla's royal catafalques, artisans constructed it under the dome of the cathedral. The structure then spread from the gates of the chorus to the first door of the main aisle, or *crujía*.[68] The

[67] Jura de Carlos III, AMP, Expedientes 205, folios 105-198.

base of the catafalque for Philip V rested on a base that was two *varas* and a third high and twelve *varas* square. The three-story pyramidal structure then rose an additional twenty-one *varas*, not including the pavilion on the very top that held a crown and scepter.[69] Like the catafalque of his predecessor, the monument for Ferdinand VI also rested on a foundation twelve *varas* square, topped by two other stories. The second story was six *varas* by six *varas*, while the top floor was five *varas* square, each story resting upon a set of columns. The entire structure rose to a height of twenty-five *varas*, or approximately 75 feet high.[70] With each successive oath ceremony, poblanos looked on ever-more massive monuments to the ever-increasing power of Spain's Bourbon kings.

Organizers borrowed from a host of symbols to impress the populace and create a sense of proximity to the monarch. In Puebla, as in other imperial cities, organizers used paintings, crowns, thrones and other symbols of royalty, but generally centered events around the symbol of the royal standard, or *real pendón.* The *pendón* and *alférez real* played central roles in the ceremonies. Using Aristotle as precedent, the thirteenth-century Castilian legal code, the *Siete partidas*, identified the king's primary officials as important limbs of his "body" (i.e. the body politic), making no distinction between the king and the state. The *alférez* functioned as the most important limb; he carried the royal banner during pitched battle and led armies when the monarch could not. By the sixteenth century, *alcaldes mayores*, or presidents of the cabildo, became the king's

[68] Razón de la forma con que se celebraron las funerales exequias por nuestro rey y señor Don Luís Primero, 1725, AMP-BNAH, AC 40, folio 385-385v.
[69] Exequias de Felipe VI, 1747, AMP, Expedientes 208, Legajo 2473, folio 201-201v.
[70] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 372-374v.

primary representatives in cities throughout the empire, but the position of *alférez* remained the most costly and the second most powerful position on municipal councils. Cities still retained, moreover, the medieval conception of the standard-bearer. In the thirteenth century, for example, the *Siete partidas* mandated that the *alférez* carry a sword to demonstrate his authority as "supreme judge."[71] In eighteenth-century Puebla, *alférezes* still retained the privilege of being the only councilmen able to wear a sword during cabildo meetings.[72]

For the succession ceremonies, the *alférez* represented the new king and carried the standard, which served as a tangible embodiment of royal authority. Harkening back to the medieval conception of the *alférez*, when informed of the death of a monarch, Puebla's standard-bearers swore to do everything in their power to honor the king, and to sacrifice personal wealth, and life if need be, to defend the kingdom. In 1724, for example, during a planning meeting for the oath ceremony in honor of Luis I, the *alférez*, Ignacio Javier Victoria Salazar, said that he would sponsor the event and, not having enough money, he would borrow it and, in a telling throwback to medieval conceptions, he added that he would rather die than pass the standard to enemies of the Crown.[73] Although Puebla's standard bearers never had to martyr themselves for the king, they did

[71] Robert I. Burns, *Las siete partidas*, vol. 2, trans. Samuel Parsons Scott (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 320-321; Part II, Title IX, Law XVI.
[72] Don Ignacio Salazar y Frías, presenta una reclamación contra algunos capitulares del cabildo que le impiden concurrir y asistir a dicho cabildo armado con su espada, AGN, Oficios Vendibles y Renunciables, Vol. 22, Expediente 47, folios 55r-56r
[73] Actas, 6 July 1724, AMP-BNAH, AC 40, folio 279v.

finance the majority of the succession rituals.[74] They, in effect, sacrificed personal wealth in defense of the empire**.**

Crafted upon a canvas of crimson satin, the royal standard depicted Puebla's coat-of-arms on one side and the Crown's on the other, both embroidered in multi-colored silk thread.[75] More than any other symbol, the standard represented the king. When the *jura* entourage picked up the *alférez* at his home for the oath, two kings-at-arms, or heralds, preceded him and visually announced the presence of monarchy. Their costumes, moreover, visually declared the arrival of royalty; for all four oath ceremonies, the kings-at-arms donned long capes with tails, embroidered with the royal coat of arms on their chests and decorative lions on their sleeves.

The royal standard and kings-at-arms also played a central role in the *exequias reales*. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spain's funerary honors argued that death could not end the essence of monarchy. Upon entering the cathedral for the funerary mass, the *alférez* placed the standard inside the first floor of the catafalque. In Puebla, organizers followed the example of the Spanish court by having kings-at-arms stand along the sides of the catafalque during the honors.[76] Having heralds guard the king's symbolic "tomb" seemed to imply that despite the death of a monarch, "monarchy" lived on. Organizers reinforced this message by covering the catafalque

[74] By the late eighteenth century, the cabildo began defraying the costs of the succession ceremonies. See Mariano Enciso y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles, del Reyno de la Nueva España.* (Puebla de los Ángeles: Oficina de Don Pedro de la Rosa, 1787), p. 146.
[75] Razón con que se celebró el real acto de alzar pendones por Nuestro Invictísimo Monarca el Señor Don Luís Primero, 15 October 1724, AMP, AC 40, folio 314v.
[76] In the *exequias* held in the church of the royal monastery of San Jerónimo, four kings-at-arms customarily guarded the tomb. Orso, *Art and Death*, pp. 22-23,

with thousands of candles symbolizing the monarch's eternal spirit. The multitude of candles distinguished his honors from those of non-royalty, who were allowed only twelve *hachas* -- or thick candles with four wicks -- placed over theirs tombs.[77] The king's "tomb" contained the standard, as well as a crown, a scepter, and a sword, testifying to the transcendence of monarchy.

Incorporating heralds into both commemorations reinforced the impression of the actual presence of the king. Poblano officials maintained this practice throughout the eighteenth century, despite challenges from officials in the colonial capital. For the funerary honors for Ferdinand VI in 1760, the cabildo asked a representative from the audiencia to clarify whether kings-at-arms**,** or heralds, wore crowns and scepters during royal *exequias*. To their surprise, the representative responded that heralds did not participate in Mexico City's funerary honors. While debating the issue, Puebla's *alférez real* stated that it had always been customary to include heralds in Puebla's royal funerary honors and emphasized the importance of having them act as "custodians" of the royal standard. In his view, not including them would constitute disrespect for royal authority, as well as local custom. He threatened not to participate if heralds were not included, and in the end, the cabildo voted to incorporate kings-at-arms.[78]

The standard served as a focal point for both commemorations and, as the role of the heralds illustrates, organizers treated it as the embodiment of the incoming king. In 1747, on the eve of the oath, the *alférez* stepped out on the balcony of his home and placed the standard under a canopy; two sergeants bearing bayonets acted as sentinels

[77] Pragmática sobre guardar luto, 22 March 1693, AGN, RC 25, Expediente 16, folio 109v.
[78] Actas, 22 March 1760, AMP, AC 50, folios 62r-63r.

throughout the night. Another sergeant, moreover, guarded the door, immediately below the standard and nine others bearing intimidating halberds, long rifle-like weapons with an axe blade and spoke on the end, guarded the street. At the initiation of all four oath ceremonies, after arriving at the platform in the city square, the *alférez* placed the standard on a throne above the platform. As he proclaimed the loyalty of the colony, he lifted the standard into the air. This constituted the central moment of the *jura* and proved so important that contemporaries referred to the *jura del rey* synonymously as the process of *levantando* (raising) or *enarbolando* (waving) the banner on behalf of the king.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the standard stood for the king. In planning meetings for Charles III's *jura*, for example, councilmen specified that after the proclamation, military companies should direct their *salvas*, or gun salutes, to the standard.[79] For the thanksgiving masses held in honor of all four monarchs, attendees sang the *Te Deum Laudamus* ("We Praise You Oh Lord"), a hymn which municipal leaders in Spain reserved exclusively for inaugural entrances of kings.[80] Likewise, in Puebla, subjects began singing the *Te Deum* as the standard crossed the threshold of the cathedral and so gave thanks to God while honoring his special emissary. Puebla's bishops understood the importance of the *Te Deum*, giving it priority in the cathedral chapter's planning meetings. After the oath ceremony for Luis I, Bishop Juan Antonio de Lardizabál reported back to the Council of the Indies that parishioners sang the *Te Deum*

[79] Jura de Carlos III, AMP, Expedientes 205, Legajo 2417, folios 185-198r.
[80] According to Alejandro Cañeque, the *Te Deum* was reserved for the first entrance of a monarch into a city. See "The King´s Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Seventeenth-Century New Spain," (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1999), pp. 309-310.

in the cathedral and that he had instructed all churches throughout the diocese to sing the hymn in honor of the king.[81]

The succession ceremonies portrayed the royal standard as the embodiment of monarchy, but other material objects also worked to represent and deify the new king. Beginning in the Renaissance and continuing throughout the eighteenth century, organizers commissioned royal portraits for the purpose of introducing European monarchs and eliciting the allegiance of subjects. In 1701, the portrait of Philip V stood atop the *jura* platform, under a baldaquin, a canopy of rich brocade used to cover royal thrones. The portrait rested behind a white curtain, embroidered in gold, which served to transform the king into an aloof and mystical abstraction.[82] Organizers kept the image hidden, dramatically revealing it only when the heralds called out the first "Viva!" In revealing the portrait in this way, organizers acted according to the standard dictates of court ceremonial; during the funerary honors for Philip IV, for example, Charles II stood behind a black curtain and only became visible when his majordomo dramatically drew it back.[83] Later, for the oath ceremonies of Luis I, Ferdinand VI, and Charles III organizers would also keep the portraits hidden until the conclusion of the oath. As in Madrid, poblano organizers did not merely present the king, they revealed him, suggesting that

[81] See, for example, Bishop to the Council of the Indies, Puebla, 31 July 1724, AGI, México 844, unpaginated.
[82] Autos que se van formando en virtud de las Reales cédulas de la Reina N.S., y Señores Gobernadores de los Reinos de España, para las funerales exequias del Rey N.S. Don Carlos II, y para alzar Pendón por el Señor Don Felipe V, AMP, RC 4, folio 220.
[83] Orso, *Art and Death*, p. 63.

although the people did not always see him, he, like God, was always present.[84] As historian Alejandra Osorio has argued, the monarch resembled God in the sense that "the King's presence could be sensed but [through the portrait] his "earthly" body could only be imagined."[85] In 1701, and later after the oath ceremonies for Luis I, Ferdinand VI, and Charles III, organizers placed the royal portrait on the palace balcony so that Spain's subjects could, in a sense, bask in the gaze of their king. The king remained on the balcony throughout the evening and to further legitimize his incarnation, a company of dragoons guarded the portrait all night long.[86]

In colonial Spanish America, most oath ceremonies incorporated a portrait of the king, which served as a useful device for bridging distance.[87] In 1701, however, the *alférez* understood that legitimizing the new Bourbon king would prove especially crucial and paid a great deal of attention to the details of the portrait. In subtle ways, the portrait of Philip V communicated the legitimacy of Bourbon rule. It stood, for example, on the first floor of the *tablado*, near the mammoth columns of Hercules, the insignia of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Charles V served as a model of kingly perfection for all future Habsburg rulers and by placing the portrait near the base of the columns, next to the Latin mote *Non plus ultra*, organizers associated Philip V with Spain's greatest monarch. The artist, however, acknowledged the transition to Bourbon rule by painting

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[84] For the way court etiquette created an aura of mystery around the king, see J.H. Elliot, "The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs: A Peculiar Institution," in *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700*, pp. 142-161; Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, p. 217.
[85] Alejandra Osorio, "Inventing Lima: The Making of an Early Modern Colonial Capital, ca. 1540- ca. 1640," (Doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2001), p. 195.
[86] Enciso y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de la Puebla*, p. 51.
[87] Mínguez, *Los reyes distantes*, p. 17.

the king dressed in the "French style." The *alférez* further legitimized the transition by wearing a costume of the same crimson color.[88]

The paintings on Puebla's platforms remained large and strikingly realistic throughout the eighteenth century. The vast sea which separated Spain from America complicated the process of assuring allegiance because, as art historian Victor Mínguez has noted, physical distance likely enhanced a sense of psychological and emotional distance. Historians Alejandro Cañeque, Linda Curcio-Nagy, and Alejandra Osorio have observed that while in Spain, subjects could hope to see their ruler at least once in their lifetimes, in America, royal officials had to find more imaginative ways of introducing the king.[89] Recent scholarship has somewhat revised this notion of the relative accessibility of the king in Spain; in the sixteenth century, as the Crown established control over its many kingdoms, monarchs became more reclusive. Philip II established the permanent court in Madrid and from then on, Spanish monarchs rarely traveled, causing regional leaders outside Castile to feel resentful and ignored.[90] The king, moreover, guided his behavior through Burgundian court ceremonial, which made him consistently aloof and hence, mysterious; unlike the king of France, Spain's monarch did not make public spectacles of his daily tasks, rarely appeared before courtiers, and kept

[88] Montoya y Cárdenas, *Diseño festivo*, folio 6v.
[89] Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, "Introduction," in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Johnson, Lyman and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. 1-17.
[90] See the essays in Agustín González Enciso and Jesús María Usunáriz Garayoa, eds. *Imagen del rey, imagen de los reinos: Las ceremonias públicas en el España Moderna (1500-1814)* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1999).

private audiences to a minimum.[91] In Spain, as well as in the colonies, paintings became important didactic devices.

Descriptions of royal ceremonies constantly referred to the vast distance that kept subjects from their king and in the introduction to descriptions of oath ceremonies and funerary honors, communities sometimes asked for patronage.[92] In order to overcome distance, officials in both Spain and America continued relying on "simulacrum," or "living portraits of the king" and on revealing the king in a dramatic, awe-inspiring fashion. [93] In 1747, officials placed a gold-framed painting of Ferdinand VI upon the *jura* platform, beneath a crimson canopy embroidered in gold. The image stood behind a yellow satin curtain decorated with silver trim. Organizers placed a table holding a crimson pillow with a gold crown resting atop in front of the painting. Unlike in France, Spanish kings did not assume their positions through the process of coronation, but by being acclaimed by the nobility. Nobody, therefore, needed to place a crown atop Ferdinand VI's head to "transform" him into Spain's king. Nevertheless, the placement of the crown immediately before the portrait suggested a coronation. Once the people acclaimed the king, they could imagine him reaching down and placing the crown upon his head.[94] In 1760, the *alcalde mayor* also revealed a painting of Charles III by drawing back a crimson curtain after the acclamation of the king. Later, officials moved the

[91] Charles V imposed the Burgundian ceremonial on the household of Philip I in 1548. See Elliot, "The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs," pp. 142-161.
[92] See, for example, the description of the catafalque for Charles II erected by the indigenous village of Coatepec. Maza, *Las piras funerarias*, pp. 61-63.
[93] Osorio, "Inventing Lima," pp. 186-192.
[94] Jura de Fernando Sexto, 1747, AMP, Expedientes 208, Legajo 2474, folios 222-222v, 224v.

painting to the palace balcony and after the day's events, placed the royal standard next to it. Sentinels guarded the symbols all night long.[95]

Paintings of the king abounded in Puebla's *jura* celebrations. In 1747, over fifty-six high-ranking Indians participated in the cavalcade in honor of Ferdinand VI, and the city's two indigenous governors carried a large tabernacle holding a painting, or "effigy," of the king. The vessel took the form of a castle resting upon a large lion, a symbol of the Spanish monarchy; the castle, in turn, held a gold-framed painting of Ferdinand VI that stood one and a half *varas* high. A velvet crimson pillow rested at the foot of the portrait and held a gold crown, again representing monarchy. Not to be outdone, the cathedral chapter contributed a portrait of its own. After the *alférez* uttered the second oath in front of the Episcopal palace, the bishop drew back a gold-embroidered white curtain, revealing Ferdinand VI.[96]

As elsewhere in Spanish America, Puebla's royal subjects anthropomorphized images of the king. In 1701, twelve soldiers bearing bayonets guarded the painting of the king while it stood on the platform and, after being placed on the palace balcony, the heralds and soldiers kept watch over both the standard and portrait. In 1747, approximately 409 soldiers participated in the oath ceremony for Ferdinand VI. According to one official description, if not for the necessity of sending soldiers to guard Spanish and Philippine trading ships in Vera Cruz and Acapulco, many more soldiers

[95] Testimonio del acto, forma, y orden con que se alzo el real pendón, AMP, Expedientes 171, Legajo 2417, folios 185r-198r.
[96] Jura de Fernando VI, AMP, Expedientes 208, folios 6r.

would have participated.[97] In addition to warning a potentially unruly populace of the military power behind the Spanish Crown, the presence of soldiers also suggested the real "presence" of the monarch; the king, after all, would require a legion of armed escorts to protect him. In 1760, a company of dragoons guarded the portrait of Charles III.[98]

According to Osorio, for seventeenth-century oath ceremonies, *limeño* officials utilized royal portraits to present the king and "create loyalty and obedience to his royal person." She cites a revealing example to underscore the ""success" of the substitution of the "real" [the king] for the simulacrum [the portrait]." During an uprising in 1647, rebels risked their lives to save portraits of Philip IV from the viceregal palace which they, themselves, had ignited.[99] By the turn of the century, the custom of displaying portraits of the king dissipated, as *limeño* officials replaced the large images with small engravings, which they then passed out to eager spectators. Osorio attributes this shift to a more abstract and less personal understanding of kingship under the Bourbons.[100] In Puebla, however, the practice of displaying large portraits not only continued, but actually increased, and organizers continued to treat them as incarnations of monarchy. The printed description of Charles III's oath ceremony refers to the painting and claims that the king somehow infused it with the essence of his "soul." A poem included in the description reads

> Painted he appeared the true one;
> Although looked at once again

[97] *Ibid*., folio 221v. According to the account, 218 captains and high-ranking officials participated in the *jura*, along with 121 pardo soldiers, and 70 volunteer militiamen from the local battalion of merchants.
[98] Anonymous, *Rasgo epico*, p. 14.
[99] Osorio, "Inventing Lima," p. 193.
[100] *Ibid*., p. 193.

The living one he looked, not even painted![101]

In the second half of the eighteenth century, local officials ordered the painting of various royal portraits. In 1760, the governor of Puebla and president of the cabildo, Pedro Montesinos de Lara, proposed commissioning portraits of Charles V and all subsequent monarchs for the cabildo's meeting room.[102] In 1787, the cabildo contracted Miguel Zerón de Zendejas to paint a full body portrait of Charles III, and as a gesture of loyalty, the artist accepted money only for supplies, no payment for his labor.[103]

Organizers employed visual symbolism to communicate the authority of the royal person, treating material objects as the embodiment of monarchy. Funerary catafalques for the king always contained a crown, a scepter, and a sword; the crown symbolized political authority, the scepter represented justice, and the sword stood for the king's military prowess. In 1666, for the *exequias* for Philip IV, councilmen placed a baldaquin in the meeting room of the municipal palace, and beneath the canopy, they placed a crown, scepter, and sword, which they then placed inside the cathedral's catafalque. Baldaquins not only covered royal thrones, but altars as well, and *regidores* treated these symbols as sacred objects. Councilmen hung a large crucifix above the objects and before the funerary mass, knelt collectively before the "royal altar." According to the description, before taking the objects off the altar, the *regidores* mimicked the act of "*besando la mano*" or "kissing the hand" of the king, thus communicating their deference and loyalty while recalling the medieval concept of vassalage. After submitting to royal

[101] Anonymous, *Rasgo epico*, p. 4, 13. The full quote reads "Pintado parecía lo verdadero! Aunque otra vez mirado,lo vivo parecía, que ni pintado!"
[102] Actas, 17 January 1760, AMP-BNAH, AC 50, folio 14.
[103] Receipt # 10, 15 September 1787, AMP, CP 10, folio 19r; Receipt # 11, 2 October 1787, AMP, CP 10, folio 20r.

authority and acknowledging the spiritual superiority of the king, three previously selected councilmen picked up the symbols and processed with them to the cathedral for placement inside the "tomb."[104]

Organizers peppered both the *jura* and the *exequias* with symbols of royal authority intended to communicate the divinely sanctioned evangelization mission, the Crown's military objectives, and to make the king's presence felt in the colonies. Yet, the succession ceremonies celebrated the continuity of monarchical rule by celebrating all of Spain's rulers. Early modern French and English jurists argued that their kings benefited from "two bodies" – one mortal and one that contained the essence of monarchy and lived on after death. Spanish kings, however, technically enjoyed only one mortal body, but even before the rise of the Bourbon monarchy, people understood that death could not destroy the Crown. Partially for this reason, all Spanish churches had an "*altar de los reyes*" (altar of the kings), so that subjects could venerate past kings as divine guardians of empire. The succession ceremonies also communicated this understanding. In 1666, for example, Mexico City's catafalque for Philip IV contained statues representing Philip I, Charles V, Philip II, and Philip III.[105]

The symbolism of the *jura*, moreover, reminded poblanos that although not physically present, the king always looked after his subjects with almost omniscient power and this combination of invisibility and authority transformed him into a God-like abstraction. During the Renaissance, courts throughout Europe began striking medallions

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[104] Actas, 11 August 1666, AMP-BNAH, AC 26, folios 288v-289r.
[105] Clara Bargellini, "La lealtad americana: el significado de la estatua ecuestre de Carlos IV," in *Iconología y sociedad: arte colonial hispanoamericano*, ed. Congreso Internacional de Americanistas (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987), pp. 209-220.

to commemorate key moments in the lives of kings. As noted by historian Louis Marin, these medallions conveyed a "double authority:" that of the king, reflected in his image, and that embodied in its value as coinage.[106] Only a king had the authority to have his image struck on coins, reminding subjects of his sovereign power and beneficence. All of Puebla's eighteenth-century *jura* festivities incorporated the passing out of coins as a means of underscoring the generosity of the monarch and local officials, and of glorifying succession. For the oath ceremony in honor of Philip V, as the crowds called out "Vivas" and militiamen discharged their weapons, two small boys threw coins to eager spectators. In oath ceremonies throughout the empire, members of the elite bequeathed coins not merely as an act of *noblesse oblige*, but also to display the kindness of the imperial monarch. In the oath ceremony to honor Charles II in 1666, the standard bearer himself threw the coins.[107] Possibly because 1701 proved such a crucial year for establishing the legitimacy of the monarch, the royal standard-bearer departed from traditional protocol and chose his first-born son and the heir of the Marquis of Montserrat to perform the honors.[108] As a proxy for the king, the *alférez* used his "children" or "princes" to bestow gifts upon his hungry subjects. The act clearly characterized Philip V as benevolent, but the role of these prominent young titled nobles also glorified succession and, by extension, the continuation of monarchical rule.[109]

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[106] Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King,* trans. Martha M. Houle (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), p. 127.
[107] Auto de cómo se alzaron pendones por el Rey Nuestro Señor Don Carlos Segundo que Dios Guarde, Actas, 30 July 1666, BNAH-AMP, AC 26, folio 274v; Auto de cómo, 18 May 1701, AMP, AC 34, folio 647r.
[108] Auto de cómo, Actas, 10 April 1701, AMP, AC 34, folio 647r.

In the early modern world, custom played a fundamental role in the choreography of ceremony. Local officials replicated practices from the metropolis, but elaborated and expanded on these practices within their local contexts. In 1701, the *alférez* veered slightly from the script by having young boys throw coins to the crowd, but by the oath ceremony in honor of Luis I, this had become local custom from "time immemorial." In 1724, the *alférez* Ignacio Javier Victoria Salazar had his son and the son of another *regidor* perform the honors. Possibly, the *alférez* could not find titled nobles to participate in the event, but the cabildo's official account does stress that the boys were heirs to entailed estates. In addition to silver coins, the young "princes" also threw medallions bearing the coat-of- arms of Puebla on one side and an image of Luis I on the other. Below the engraving of the king, a Latin mote proclaimed "*Ludovicus Primus Hixpaniarum el indiarum Rex"* (Luis I, King of Spain and the Indies). [110]

Before the oath ceremony for Ferdinand VI, each councilman received four silver medallions bearing the likeness of the king, and the engraved proclamation, "*Ferdinand Sextus hispaniarum modrarum rex*; the alférez then presented the bishop and cathedral chapter with identical medallions.[111] After the declaration of the oath, the nephews of the *alférez* threw silver coins and medallions bearing an image of the king. Afterwards, the participants moved to a stage in front of the Episcopal palace to perform the customary second declaration. Bishop Pantaleón Álvarez y Abreu watched the performance from

[110] Razón con que se celebró el Real acto de alzór pendones por Nuestro Invictísimo Monarca el Señor Don Luís Primero, que se mandó poner por auto, Actas, 15 October 1724, AMP, AC 40, 317r.
[111] The *alférez* gave the bishop twenty-five medallions, the dean six, and four to each cathedral chapter member and to the priest of the *Sagrario* (the parish adjacent to the cathedral). Testimonio de lo ejecutado en el real acto de alzar pendones por Nuestro Monarca el Señor Don Fernando Sexto, 1747, AMP, Expedientes 208, Legajo 2475, folios 243r-244v.

his palace balcony and then passed out medallions bearing different images of all of Spain's kings on one side, and all of Spain's queens on the other.[112] In 1760, two boys threw silver coins and medallions bearing an image of the new king, and Bishop Álvarez y Abreu again passed out medallions engraved with the likenesses of Spain's former monarchs.[113]

Puebla's economic decline, the debilitating epidemics, the successive poor harvests, and the earthquakes of the eighteenth century would likely have made spectators particularly receptive to messages regarding the paternalism and magnanimity of the monarch. Through the succession rituals, local leaders worked to condense messages about the loyalty due to the king and to local government, and to "discourage critical thinking."[114] In 1747, for example, the bishop threw both coins and sweets to cheering subjects and according to the cabildo's official description, the people responded by "repeating declarations of obedience and loyalty to their Catholic King."[115]

Bombarding the populace with visual representations of the monarch surely helped reinforce a sense of membership in the empire, and by providing sweets, flavored waters, and silver coins organizers fomented loyalty to the newly acclaimed king. Oath ceremonies provided a distraction from the mundane and subjects likely associated the rise of a new sovereign with respites from the harsh realities of colonial life. A description of the eight-day commemoration in honor of Charles III provides a particularly good example of the farcical components of the *jura* celebration. Organizers

[112] Jura de Fernando VI, 1747, AMP, Expedientes 208, Legajo 2475, folios 254v-255v.
[113] Jura de Carlos III, 1760, AMP, Expedientes 171, Legajo 2417, folios 193v-198r.
[114] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, p. 231.
[115] Jura de Fernando VI, AMP, Expedientes 208, Legajo 2475, folio 256v.

presented the king to the people, and the populace mirrored this process by donning royal costumes and acting the part of king. For eight full nights, people enjoyed fireworks, parades with floats representing a variety of allegorical scenes, including one applauding empire through the representation of the city of Athens. People took to the streets dressed as crazy people, a carnivalesque tradition dating back to the Middle Ages. Others dressed as pigmies, riding upon the shoulders of giants.[116] Overall, the festivities portrayed a "world turned upside down," or a period of permissible role-reversal, where plebeians could be so bold as to dress like the king of Spain and take over the streets for eight full days.[117] Farcical revelry proved so customary during oath ceremony celebrations that in 1760, Governor Pedro Montesinos de Lara banned people from dressing up like women, donning sacerdotal robes, or from dressing immodestly. He also specified that during costumed parades, no participants should stop at *pulquerías*, taverns, or liquor stands to get drunk and "*armar riño*" (or create disturbances).[118]

Indeed, royal ceremonies customarily incorporated playful forms of pageantry. In 1708, for the celebrations in honor of the birth of Prince Luis I, the cabildo asked Puebla's Indians to dress as Chichimecas, and to release tamed animals into the main plaza for the amusement of spectators.[119] Having the Nahuatl-speaking Indians of Puebla, mainly descendants of the Tlaxcaltecas and Cholutecas of the central valley, mimic the "savage" Indians of the north may have been intended to provide farcical

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[116] Anonymous, *Rasgo Epico*, pp. 30-37.
[117] In seventeenth-century Mexico City, the theme of the "world turned upside down" was expressed quite literally, with men dressing like women and women like men. Antonio Rubial García, *La plaza, el palacio, y el convento* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998), p. 58.
[118] Bando sobre la Jura de Carlos III, 20 June 1760, AMP, RC 14, unpaginated.
[119] Actas, 3 January 1708, AMP-BNAH, AC 36, folio 18r-18v.

amusement, equating the Chichimecas with the same animals they released.[120] Yet, municipal leaders may have intended the procession of Chichimecas to represent the triumph of the Spanish monarchy over the elements of disorder. In the sixteenth century, the Chichimec tribes fiercely resisted Spanish civilization, but by the eighteenth century they had been all but absorbed by other indigenous groups, and thoroughly "domesticated."[121] In seventeenth-century Spain, Corpus Christi processions usually incorporated people dressed as "savages," not only to amuse spectators, but also to refer to Christ's triumph over non-Christian peoples.[122]

Images of the king as conqueror and civilizer permeated a variety of royal celebrations and one can argue that annual Corpus Christi celebrations constituted celebrations of conquest and empire. Art historian Carolyn Dean has observed how Corpus Christi depended on the participation of subject groups because it not only celebrated Christ's triumph through heterodoxy, but also Spain's victory over non-Christian people. Corpus Christi, therefore, can be regarded as the quintessential ceremony for both the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish State. In Puebla, the cabildo obligated guilds, religious orders, tertiary orders, and confraternities to walk in the procession, but also took pains to showcase the different ethnicities of the Spanish empire. The cabildo obligated members from all of the city's socials groups to

[120] To date, there is no comprehensive study of Puebla de los Ángeles' indigenous community. According to Fausto Marín Tamayo, Indians from Calpan, Huejotzingo, and the Mixteca also settled in the city's indigenous barrios. See *La división racial en Puebla de los Ángeles bajo el régimen colonial* (Puebla, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1960).

[121] At the end of the sixteenth century, the Crown lured Chichimecas into settlements and began establishing villages of Tlaxcalan settlers on the frontier to act as "civilizing" agents. See David Frye, *Indians into Mexicans: History and Identity in a Mexican Town* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), pp. 44-45.

[122] Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2000), p. 12.

participate, but also stressed the diversity of Spain's subject people in a dramatically farcical way. People paraded wearing large papier-mâché heads, intended to look like grotesquely oversized Spanish women, blacks, and Indians. The cabildo spent vast sums maintaining these masks, as well as wigs and costumes to match. Similarly, oath ceremonies required the participation of all subordinate groups and obligated them to reflect their "otherness" and identity as conquered people. In Puebla, for example, the municipal council directed indigenous officials to wear their "traditional" dress for the oath ceremonies. If commoners refused to represent their subjugation, colonial officials sometimes tried to compel them. For one oath ceremony, officials of the town of Atlixquia tried to prohibit caciques from wearing Spanish dress and ordered them to cut their hair – two humiliating directives.[123]

Succession ceremonies cemented loyalty to the king through images that enhanced his legitimacy; aspects of the events portrayed him as both a paternal benefactor and as the sponsor of pleasurable diversion. At the same time, however, it compelled people to acknowledge their subordination. For these reasons, monarchical celebrations remained consistently important throughout the entire colonial period. As we can glean from the increasing size of oath ceremony platforms and catafalques, they also became more elaborate as the eighteenth century progressed. By the time of Charles III's oath ceremony, the festivities extended over a period of eight days, while Philip V, Luis I, and Ferdinand VI's oath ceremonies lasted a mere two days. This increase seems

[123] Para que la Justicia de Atlixquia se arregle a lo mandado pena de 500 pesos dejando salir a los indios en la celebridad de la Jura de Nuestro Rey y Señor en el traje que pudieren como se le previene, AGN, Indios 50, Expediente 108, folios 205v-207v.

to have been part of a general trend; as the Bourbon absolutist state centralized its authority, the cult of the king increased in importance. As in Puebla, the duration of Mexico City's oath ceremonies increased steadily throughout the eighteenth century, and Ángel López Cantos has noted that in Puerto Rico, Philip V's *jura* lasted three days, Ferdinand VI's spanned ten, and Charles III's lasted thirteen.[124] By the time of Charles III's *jura*, the cabildo of Puebla began requesting that guilds contribute allegorical carts to the ceremony's festive parades. Although most of Puebla's guilds were too poor to participate in the commemoration, the councilmen's request mirrors a general trend.[125] In late eighteenth-century Mexico City, colonial officials began relying on the contributions of guilds to defray the cost of the festivities.[126]

By the 1760s the Crown attempted to curtail the amount that municipal councils could spend on public ceremonies and those devoted to the royal family did not go completely unscathed. As with the celebration in honor of the birth of Crown Prince Luis I, the cabildo of Puebla celebrated the birth of princes in grand fashion. But by the birth of Prince Charles Clemente in 1772, the king ordered officials to avoid the profane and costly celebrations that usually accompanied royal births. In 1775, the king made the same request after the birth of Princess Carlota, and Viceroy Bucareli, in turn, ordered councilmen throughout New Spain to limit the commemoration to one solemn mass and

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[124] Ángel López Cantos, *Juegos, fiestas y diversiones en la América Española* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992), p. 54.
[125] The only two guilds willing to contribute were the wealthy baker's and silversmith's guilds. In honor of Charles III's oath ceremony, the silversmiths erected a permanent monument devoted to the king in the city's *zócalo.* See Anonymous, *Obelisco, que en la ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles, celebrando la jura de nuestro rey, y sr. Don Carlos III [. . .]* (Puebla: Real Colegio de San Ignacio, 1763; Puebla: Bohemia, 1962).
[126] Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Mexico City*, pp. 103-104.

three days of luminaries. The Crown had come to believe that celebrations should serve to honor God "so that he does not separate us from his protection . . ." and, according to Bucareli, profane celebrations, like bullfights and fireworks, could potentially "misrepresent our gratitude," making the birth seem like a mere excuse for revelry.[127]

While the Crown sought to reduce slightly municipal expenditure on royal ceremony, it reinvigorated a variety of other commemorations dedicated to the king, suggesting that commemorations indeed reflected the growing power of the Bourbon absolutist state. In Puebla, the cult of the king found expression in a variety of celebrations. Crucial among these was the feast day in honor of the warrior-king, San Fernando (Saint Ferdinand), who united the kingdoms of Castile and León and conquered most of southern Spain in the thirteenth century. Of particular note was Fernando's victory over the Moors in his conquest of Seville and by the sixteenth-century, *sevillanos* credited the miraculous intervention of the king with the discovery of America and the rising prosperity of their port city. Although Fernando never received official canonization, in 1671 Pope Clement X extended his cult to territories throughout the Spanish Empire and allowed prelates to celebrate his feast day, 30 May, with double rites. The Roman liturgy reserved double rites, or masses in which the antiphons (verses of one or more psalms) were sung, for major feast days. The privilege, therefore, recognized Fernando as a saint, despite the Papacy's refusal to officially canonize him.

[127] Charles III to Viceroy, San Lorenzo, 28 September 1771, with an addendum from the Council of the Indies and the *fiscal* José Antonio de Areche, BN, Col. Lafragua, Bandos y Reglas, Expediente 9, folios 15r-16v; Charles III to Viceroy Bucareli, Aranjuez, 14 August 1775 and Viceroy Bucarelli to the Cabildos of New Spain, Mexico City, 14 August 1775, BN, Col. Lafragua, Bandos y Reglas, Expedientes 89 and 90, folios 318r-319r.

Cities throughout Spain, in turn, celebrated the awarding of the privilege as if Fernando had been formally canonized.[128]

Seville celebrated the informal canonization of San Fernando in 1671, and in 1673, Mexico City celebrated the arrival of the privileges in grand style.[129] Although the cathedral of Puebla may have incorporated the feast day into its sacred calendar, the poblano cabildo did not begin commemorating the warrior-king until 1753. Adding credence to the relationship between the growing cult of the king and the increasing power of the Bourbon State, the order to do so came from above, in the form of a memo from the viceroy, and councilmen responded by voting to honor the feast day perpetually as the "titular saint of our king."[130]

Although religious in nature, the Crown viewed the celebration primarily as a way of expanding the cult of the king. Fernando, after all, did not only crusade on behalf of Christendom, but helped consolidate empire and, as tales of his miraculous powers would suggest, displayed an unseen hand in the discovery and conquest of the New World. By celebrating the saint-king, subjects celebrated an exaggerated symbol of the greatness inherent in all of Spain's monarchs. In 1753, poblanos used the celebration to commemorate their devotion to both Fernando and to the reigning monarch Ferdinand

[128] See Amanda Jaye Wunder, "The Search for Sanctity in Baroque Seville: The Canonization of San Fernando and the Making of Golden-Age Culture, 1624-1729" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2002).
[129] See El virrey da cuenta del modo con que queda dispuesto se celebre la fiesta del Rey San Fernando, AGI, México 46, No. 102, unpaginated.
[130] Actas, 30 May 1753, AMP-BNAH, AC 50, folio 602r.

VI. Afterwards, the viceroy thanked the cabildo for acknowledging their vassalage to such a "grand" monarch.[131]

In 1754, the cabildo expanded the ceremonies to include military officials, who processed along with councilmen to the cathedral on the day of the feast. During the mass, soldiers discharge their weapons, probably at the exact moment that the priest lifted up the Eucharist, further associating king with Savior. Before and after the event, the cabildo treated the populace to an elaborate pyrotechnical display, which included *ruedas,* spiraling wheels of cracking fireworks, and *cámaras*, single loud blasts that rocketed into the air. In 1755, the cabildo heightened the grandeur of the event; the military presence became even more pronounced, with the city's volunteer battalion, dragoons and a troop from Vera Cruz marching in the main plaza on the day of the celebration.[132] In 1755, the cabildo agreed to commemorate the saint's days of all of Spain's monarchs with a solemn mass and a *Te Deum*, and also voted to celebrate the king and queen's birthday, occasions which they had previously not commemorated. They chose to do this with a sung mass "to thank God Our Lord for having given them life and health." Councilmen, in turn, agreed to decorate the palace with costly fabrics and luminaries, and to pay for fireworks on the eve of the event.[133]

After the oath ceremony in honor of Charles III in 1760, the cabildo began celebrating his saint's day and ordered all of the city's guilds to make some sort of demonstration of loyalty. In this key year, the city also commissioned fireworks and

[131] Libro que comprende específicas noticias de los Patronatos Jurados por Votivos, 1773*,* AMP, LV 9, folio 367v.
[132] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 140r-146v; Libro que comprende específicas noticias de los patronatos jurados por votivos, 1773, AMP, LV 9, folios 367r-369r.
[133] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 147v-148v.

organized processions of triumphal carts to acknowledge the feast day, as well as Charles III's exaltation to the throne.[134] To commemorate the king's rise, the silversmith's guild offered to erect an obelisk in honor of Charles III in the main plaza. In 1763, the artisans finally completed the monument and the guild chose the monarch's feast day as the perfect occasion on which to inaugurate it. In addition to a procession and solemn mass, the cabildo usually marked the feast day with luminaries, gun salutes, music, and by draping the municipal palace and decorating it with candles on the eve and night of the holiday.[135]

In addition to birthdays and namesake feasts, the cabildo continued commemorating specific successes of the Spanish Crown. In 1711, to celebrate recouping the capital from the occupational forces of the Austrian Alliance, Philip V established the *Fiesta de Desagravios del Santísimo Sacramentado* (Fiesta to Make Amends to the Most Holy Sacrament) on the Sunday immediately preceding the feast day of the Immaculate Conception. While acknowledging the crucial military victory, the fiesta served to appease God for the heretical mistreatment of sacred images by Protestant forces; according to Philip V's cédula, soldiers trampled on holy images of the saints, the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, and desecrated the sacred Host.[136] The monarch ordered churches throughout Spanish America to celebrate the feast day annually and perpetually, but although the cabildo always attended as a corporation, it never subsidized the event and left its execution completely up to the cathedral chapter.

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[134] Actas, 1 November 1760, AMP-BNAH, AC 50, folio 211r-211v.
[135] See Relación del patrón de fiestas, AMP, CP 11, folios 44r-54r.
[136] King to officials of the Indies, Zaragoza, 1 June 1711, AMP, RC 4, folio 251r.

Similarly, since 1626 the city celebrated the defeat of pirate ships and the consequent successful arrival of the Spanish galleon in 1625. Again, the fiesta gave thanks to the Holy Sacrament for protecting the ship and by attending a mass every 29 November, poblanos helped protect all future shipments, believing, as they did, that the Host shielded and guided the galleons to go undetected by enemy ships. Councilmen committed themselves to leading the procession, to selecting distinguished poblanos to carry the pallium above the Holy Sacrament, and to having neighbors erect altars along the processional route. In 1776, the cabildo received an order from the recently established general treasury, ordering that it cut the number of feast days and tellingly, the order made no mention of the aforementioned royal celebrations. As the cult of the king took on renewed significance and as authority became more centered on the Crown, these commemorations played a more vital role in the cabildo's sacred calendar. By the late eighteenth century, the cabildo assumed an active role in the planning of both events, providing gun powder for military salutes, as well as a pallium used to cover the host.[137]

The Visitor General José de Gálvez instituted the *Junta Municipal de Propios y Arbitrios* to oversee expenditure for all of New Spain's municipal councils, and city accountants were required to turn over itemized accounts each fiscal year. In 1776, the General Treasurer reduced its number of patron saints from fourteen to eight. Given that Puebla helped subsidize the feast days of its patron saints and the streamlining priorities of the General Visitation, the reductions stand to reason. The Department, however, increased the amount that the council could spend on one particular feast – that of the

[137] See, for example, Cuenta del diputado de las fiestas, 1794, AMP, CP 15, folios 239r-241r.

Virgin the Conqueror. According to documentation provided by the city's Franciscan Convent, the conquistador Hernán Cortés had carried this effigy with him during his battles in Mexico and presented it to the Tlaxcalans for supporting the Spaniards during the Conquest. Since 1631, the cabildo had honored the image, now housed in the Franciscan convent, and credited it for helping win the land for the Spanish Crown. While cutting a variety of other celebrations, the department increased the amount that the cabildo could spend on the Conqueror from 25 pesos to 100.[138] Similarly, in Mexico City the Crown limited substantially the amount that the municipal council could spend on ceremony, but increased spending for the feast day of Saint Hippolytus– the occasion that marked the conquest of Tenochtitlan.[139] Although desirous of limiting expenditure, the Crown clearly prioritized exalting its own supremacy, celebrating its conquest of the New World, as well as the "reconquest" of the colonial bureaucracy.

Royal ceremonies, such as oath ceremonies and funerary honors remained important throughout the eighteenth century because they celebrated the most primary value of colonial politics: devotion to the monarch. Although obvious on the surface, the ceremonies presented a complex and multi-faceted image of monarchical authority, conflating the tropes of monarch as hero and monarch as redeemer. Despite the fact that jurists did not conceive of the king as an incarnation of God, Puebla's ceremonies recognized that death could not quell the essence of monarchy. Because of the primary

[138] Actas, 20 July 1776, AMP, AC 55, folios 186r-189v.
[139] Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Mexico City*, pp. 78-79; See María José Garrido Aspero, "Las fiestas cívicas en la ciudad de México: De las ceremonias del estado absoluto a la conmemoración del estado liberal," (Master's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), p. 42.

role played by royal ceremonies in the political culture of the New World, reformists did not take issue with these spectacular and costly events.

On the contrary, late eighteenth-century colonial leaders systematically expanded the cult of the king. Poblano officials increased the size of ephemeral structures, requested that guilds more actively participate, and reinvigorated previously established imperial ceremonies. The viceroy, moreover, ordered councilmen to celebrate San Fernando and councilmen took the initiative by transforming the holiday into a celebration of all of Spain's monarchs, adding commemorative celebrations for the birthdays of Spain's kings and queens. Finally, the Crown expanded the feast day for the Virgin the Conqueror, while it trimmed the amount the cabildo of Puebla could spend on other religious celebrations.

The cabildo of Puebla and Crown's treatment of royal ceremony speaks to the importance of public celebrations for the maintenance of imperial legitimacy. As we will see in the following chapter, viceregal entries also played a primary role in cementing loyalty to the colonial system. The Crown, however, continuously criticized local leaders for over-spending on viceregal celebrations; but because the viceroy served as the embodiment of royal authority in New Spain, poblanos resisted pairing down the celebrations.

Chapter 3: A Reception for a "Prince": Celebrating Monarchy through the Viceregal Entry

On 2 August 1766, Visitor General José de Gálvez announced that the incoming viceroy, the Marquis of Croix, would not make the customary stop in Puebla on his way to Mexico City. In 1765, Gálvez arrived in New Spain with orders to streamline municipal expenditure, and shortly after disembarking at the Port of Vera Cruz, he forbade the colony's councilmen from making any payments of municipal funds without his prior approval. Since the sixteenth century, Tlaxcala, Puebla, and Mexico City had all sponsored inaugural entrances of viceroys: elaborate and costly affairs recalling Christ's entrance into Jerusalem and the ancient Caesars' triumphal return to Rome after battle. Upon hearing of the Marquis of Croix's arrival in New Spain, the cabildo consulted the visitor about plans for the spectacle. Gálvez, however, informed councilmen that the Marquis had disallowed entrance ceremonies, and if they wished to honor the viceroy, they needed to communicate this directly to him.[1]

In 1766, Puebla did not host an entrance ceremony – an almost unfathomable occurrence for the city's councilmen. This turn of events, however, would not prove an anomaly. In 1790, upon hearing of the arrival of the second Count of Revillagigedo at the port of Vera Cruz, Puebla's councilmen purchased, among other things, linen, candy, cake, and glassware, and contracted an artisan to make the ceremony's customary triumphal arch. The cabildo allocated 3,800 pesos toward the event, but with preparations well under way, councilmen received word that like the Marquis of Croix

[1] José de Gálvez to the cabildo, Mexico City, 2 August 1766, AMP, RC 10, folios 363r-364r.

twenty-eight years earlier, the Count of Revillagigedo had decided to forego Puebla and head straight to Mexico City.[2]

The Marquis and Count's decisions reflected the colonial administration's increasing disregard for the traditional viceregal entrance ceremony. Throughout most of the colonial period, municipal leaders spent huge sums on public spectacles dedicated to honoring the viceroy and presenting him as the carnal embodiment of royal authority. In the seventeenth century, these festivities included bullfights, a triumphal arch or arches, *mascaradas*, or costumed cavalcades of elites, *máscaras ridículas*, or carnivalesque costumed parades, fireworks, mock jousts, and feasts. In Puebla, the early eighteenth century witnessed a radical departure from the grandeur of the seventeenth-century triumphal entrances. As the Crown began placing proscriptions against overspending, Puebla began a period of economic decline and instability, and the cabildo lost the resources required to host equally lavish viceregal spectacles.

In 1696, Puebla hosted its last viceregal entrance ceremony under the Habsburg dynasty. The cabildo spent over 18,000 pesos on the ceremony, an unprecedented amount considering that the average viceregal entrance had cost the city between 7,000 and 12,000 pesos. In this same year, the Crown ordered cabildo's throughout New Spain to cease sponsoring viceregal entrances – an order which councilmen simply disregarded. The spectacle, after all, showcased the wealth and grandeur of their city. In the seventeenth century, poblanos had enjoyed a "golden age;" the fertile Puebla-Tlaxcala-Atlixco region served as the breadbasket of the colony, and the city as an important

[2] Cuenta de la entrada del Conde de Revillagigedo, 1790, AMP, LC 15, folios 273r-275r.

textile center, and as a center of trade for European and Asian goods. For most of the century, Puebla's government had also enjoyed the privilege of collecting the *alcabala,* and many councilmen used their positions to help allies and themselves avoid paying the tax.[3] This made Puebla particularly attractive to merchants and the city enjoyed, for most of the period, a bustling economy. Being in charge of the *alcabala* collection, moreover, allowed councilmen to pocket substantial wealth. When the cabildo needed extra funds with which to host the entrance of the Count of Montezuma, the largest personal donations came from those councilmen in charge of the *alcabala.*[4]

By 1696, however, the government owed 27,866 pesos in back taxes. Mismanagement of the *alcabala* collection and the exorbitant cost of hosting periodic viceregal entrances had a detrimental effect on the municipal coffers.[5] Between 1677 and 1695 the municipal government solicited no less than eleven loans from merchants, religious institutions, and individual councilmen to cover *alcabala*-related debts.[6] Fiscal insolvency became a pressing issue given that the municipal government had to make continuous interest payments on a variety of other loans including, but not limited to, a 6,000-peso loan from the village of Huamantla's Confraternity of the Holy Souls of Purgatory for the 1680 viceregal entrance ceremony, another 6,000-peso loan from the

[3] Gustavo Rafael Alfaro Ramírez, "La lucha por el control del gobierno urbano en la época colonial. El Cabildo de la Puebla de los Ángeles, 1670-1723," (Master's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), p. 156 n. 95.
[4] When the city lacked capital to pay for large ceremonies, its *regidores* often paid for specific aspects of the ceremony with the expectation of being paid back at a later date. Sometimes, however, *regidores* had to wait years to see a return. For the Count of Montezuma's entrance, one *regidor* offered to pay for the fireworks, another for the arch, and the cabildo's *alcaldes ordinarios* agreed to donate between 500 and 1,000 pesos, depending on the amount that the ceremony demanded. Finding themselves in a significantly healthier financial situation, the four councilmen in charge of the *alcabala* promised to pay between 500 and 2,000 pesos. See Actas, 10 October 1696, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folios 105r-106v.
[5] Actas, 14 March 1696, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folio 36v.
[6] Alfaro Ramírez, "La lucha por el control," pp. 155, 157.

Convent of the Immaculate Conception for the same entrance, a 10,000-peso loan from the Convent of Saint Catherine for the 1688 viceregal entrance ceremony, and a 3,000-peso loan from the Convent of the Most Holy Trinity for the 1696 entrance ceremony.[7] When the cabildo finally found itself engulfed in debt, the Crown intervened and installed Juan José de Veytia y Linaje to oversee the *alcabala* collection. In a challenge to the cabildo's corruption, Veytia increased revenues by 350 percent in his first year as superintendent of the collection (1697-1698). Frustrated with Veytia's rigorous taxation policy, merchants began taking their business elsewhere, marking the end of Puebla's economic golden age. [8]

In the seventeenth century, Puebla's councilmen regarded the viceregal entrance as an opportunity to parade their wealth and showcase the splendor of their city, but while spending exorbitant amounts on entrances, councilmen could not make payments on the *alcabala.* In order to pay back the city's growing debt, the cabildo had to broker a 30,000-peso loan through Bishop Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz. In 1696, even before

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[7] It is difficult to assess exactly when the cabildo paid off the loans. By 1770, the city had only paid 4,000 pesos of the principal of the 1680 loan from the Convent of the Immaculate Conception and had 2,000 pesos left of the principal of the loan from the Convent of Saint Catherine. See Libro que contiene las copias de las escrituras de censos principales que reconoce sobre sus propios y rentas, 1770, AMP, LV 13.

[8] Historians have puzzled over exactly why Puebla fell into economic decline in the eighteenth century. Some have followed the lead of the eighteenth-century chronicler Juan Villa Sánchez and blamed the prohibitions against trade with Peru (1634), the rise of competing textile centers, and the establishment of the trade fair in Jalapa (1720). See Juan Villa Sánchez and Francisco Javier de la Peña, *Puebla Sagrada y Profana: Informe dado a su muy ilustre ayuntamiento el año de 1746 (Facsímil)* (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1997 (1835)) and Juan Carlos Garavaglia and Juan Carlos Grosso, "La región de Puebla/Tlaxcala y la economía novohispana (1670-1821)," *Historia Mexicana* 35 (1986), pp. 549-600; Guy Thomson, *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700-1850* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989). Historian Gustavo Alfaro Ramírez, however, has argued that because the early eighteenth century witnessed an immediate downturn in the local economy, the Crown's aggressive *alcabala* collection likely played a decisive role in the decline. Contemporaries, moreover, clearly believed this. An anonymous political satire from ca. 1720 claims that merchants abandoned the city because of Veytia's tax-collection policy. See La violencia de un poder ejecutado con tiranía, AGI, México 846, unpaginated.

the entrance of the Count of Montezuma, the bishop complained about the cabildo's insolvency to the recently arrived viceroy as he prepared for his overland journey to Mexico City. In an attempt to spare the city unnecessary costs, the viceroy told the cabildo to forego what would prove to be the costliest poblano entrance of the seventeenth century. But, while Puebla suffered from the devastating famine and epidemics of the 1690s and while the cabildo drowned in entrance-related debt, councilmen decided to treat Montezuma "with the reverence of what he represents" and to illustrate the "fidelity, love, and reverential respect with which the city attends to the king."[9]

In 1700, the Bourbon Philip V took the throne, making the entrance of the Count of Montezuma the last grand Habsburg entrance. Most of Puebla's eighteenth-century viceregal entrances were paired down in comparison. The 1696 entrance sponsored one of the last mock jousts, or *juego de cañas,* of any poblano viceregal entrance ceremony. Although still grand in scale, the eighteenth-century ceremonies took on a comparably more reserved character.

The reasons for this are complicated and stem both from changing imperial objectives and local constraints on costly expenditure. Yet, each viceregal entrance continued to celebrate hierarchy and imperialism. Along with monarchical ceremonies like *juras del rey*, funerary honors, and celebrations of military victories, viceregal entrances celebrated the principal value of the colonial system: respect for royal authority.

[9] Actas, 23 October 1696, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folio 117v.

Scholars have become increasingly fascinated by the Spanish colonial viceregal entrance ceremony.[10] According to Linda Curcio-Nagy, the colonial capital's entrance ceremony functioned as a sort of contract between "ruler and ruled." The cabildo of Mexico City entertained Indians, Afro-Mexicans, *castas*, Spaniards, and Spanish-creoles with elaborate fireworks displays and bullfights and thereby purchased their submission; organizers, in effect, released tension through the "safety-valve" of the fête. All entrance ceremonies incorporated at least one triumphal arch and scholars have explored how emblems depicting stories from classical mythology and sacred scripture served allegorically to laud the viceroy, while also communicating the city's expectations. Indeed, as Curico-Nagy contends, by "overwhelmingly and consistently asking for prosperity, generosity, integrity, and diligence on the triumphal arches, the city symbolically gave voice to the populace's aspirations for good government."[11] At the same time, the arch helped educate the viceroy. According to historian Alejandro Cañeque, the arch functioned as an iconographic "mirror for princes," a visualized form of the popular genre of how-to manuals for early modern leaders.[12] Current scholarship

[10] Art historian Francisco de la Maza wrote the earliest substantial work on the subject. See Francisco de la Maza, *La mitología clásica en el arte colonial de México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1968). More recent works by art historians include Francisco Checa, "Arquitectura efímera e imagen del poder," in *Sor Juan y su mundo*, ed. Sara Poot Herrera (Mexico City: CONACYT, 1995), pp. 253-305, and Victor Mínguez, *Los reyes distantes: imágenes del poder en el México virreinal* (Castilló de la Plana, 1995). Historians have become increasingly interested in triumphal arches as political and cultural discourse. To date, Linda Curcio's "Saints, Sovereignty and Spectacle in Colonial Mexico" (Ph.D. diss, Tulane University, 1993) provides the most complete and insightful history of Mexico City's sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century viceregal entrance ceremonies. For Puebla, see Nancy Fee, "La Entrada Angelopolitana: Ritual and Myth in the Viceregal Entry in Puela de los Angeles," *The Americas* 53:3 (January 1996), pp. 283-320.

[11] Curcio-Nagy, "Saints, Sovereignty and Spectacle," p. 66; Fee, "La Entrada Angelopolitana, pp. 283-320; Checa, "Arquitectura efímera e imagen del poder," pp. 262-271.

[12] Alejandro Cañeque, "The King´s Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Seventeenth-Century New Spain," (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1999), pp. 63-67.

has established that entrance ceremonies served varied functions, from bolstering the colonial system to providing a venue through which to negotiate with the viceroy.

Recent attention notwithstanding, scholars generally regard eighteenth-century ceremonies as far less significant than their Habsburg counterparts and focus, overwhelmingly, on the iconographic discourse of the triumphal arch. Yet, as the case of Puebla demonstrates, the Bourbon monarchy's prescriptions against overspending did not prevent local leaders from portraying the viceroy as a surrogate king. Puebla's councilmen continued to organize grand receptions partially because of their dependency on the viceroy as an arbiter of justice, but also because for the colonial system to work, subjects needed to view the political hierarchy as sacrosanct.

Curcio-Nagy has observed a noticeable decline in the number and quality of printed descriptions of entrances for eighteenth-century Mexico City. Unlike the more substantial and detailed printed volumes of the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century's descriptions constitute mere pamphlets, and Curcio-Nagy points to this distinction as evidence for the declining significance of the viceregal entrance ceremony and the triumphal arch in particular.[13] The poblano leadership also printed significantly more descriptions of arches in the seventeenth century, and the cabildo financed no descriptions of arches between 1695 and 1775. Yet, this lack of attention to the printed description may reflect nothing more than the cabildo's fiscal insolvency and the necessity of emphasizing certain aspects of the festival over others. At the local level,

[13] Curcio, "Saints, Sovereignty and Spectacle," pp. 123-124.

officials gave the same attention to the viceregal entrance as did their predecessors. Resources, however, determined its level of grandeur.

At the most basic level, the viceroy stopped in Puebla because his health and that of his family demanded it. The trans-Atlantic voyage left most passengers drained and Vera Cruz, with its inhospitable climate, did not prove the most appealing place in which to recover. Part of the initial reason behind founding the city of Puebla was to provide a midpoint between the port and the capital, with good hospitals and inns for Spanish travelers to recuperate. Like many recent arrivals, the viceroy rested in the city and sometimes needed a period of stay before traveling on. The entourage normally rested for no more than eight days, but illness could force the viceroy and/or family members to prolong their visit. In 1740, for example, the viceroy's son stayed in Puebla for close to a month while recovering from an illness, and cabildo members spent a significant part of the entrance-ceremony budget on escorting the child to Mexico City to place him back in his father's care.[14]

Exigencies of travel aside, the elaborate public spectacle remained important because it celebrated hierarchy and recognized the importance of patronage. A recovering viceroy might stay in Puebla, but he did not necessarily require bullfights, arches, laudatory poetry, and sumptuous meals to regain his health. The cabildo, however, needed to ingratiate itself to the viceroy; as president of the audiencia, he had

[14] Testimonio del cabildo que esta Muy Noble y Muy Leal ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles celebró el jueves en la noche 4 de agosto del año de 1740 en que se dieron varias providencias como se contiene sobre el recibimiento y cortejo en el hospedaje del Excelentísimo Señor Marques de Gracia Real, virrey que fue de esta Nueva España y del cabildo del 1 de octubre de 1740, AMP, RC 9, folios 343r-351r.

the authority to side with the government in legal disputes involving other individuals or corporations.

During the eighteenth century, the cabildo engaged in complicated legal battles with hacienda owners, butchers, tenants, guilds, convents, the cathedral chapter, and even individual councilmen. Instead of taking their cases to the audiencia, councilmen often appealed directly to the viceroy. The *procurador mayor*, the annually elected *regidor* who served as the cabildo's legal representative, often stayed at court for extended periods of time to plead the city's case before the viceroy. Furthermore, a successful entrance ceremony could precipitate the granting of favors. After the entrance of the Count of Montezuma in 1696, the viceroy thanked the cabildo of Puebla for its hospitality by offering one of its *regidores* the position of *alcalde mayor* of San Miguel el Grande. Although this signified a bureaucratic promotion, the town paled in importance to Puebla and no councilmen agreed to accept the position.[15]

Councilmen depended on the viceroy, but the *recibimiento* served the more symbolic purpose of political legitimacy. Spain, like other early modern monarchies, conceived of itself as a body politic; it did not see itself as an abstract entity, but as a relationship between various parts, or "limbs." The cabildo of Puebla, for example, constituted a political body and the *alcalde mayor*, or president, functioned as the *cabeza*, or "head" of the municipal government. The city, in turn, represented a body, with the cabildo as its head and as a spiritual body, or as one semi-autonomous community within the broader Catholic Church; both the cathedral chapter and secular cabildo served as its

[15] Actas, 9 August 1697, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folio 204r-204v.

head. The city also functioned as an important component of the colonial body politic, with the viceroy as head, and New Spain functioned as a "limb" or "organ" within the wider imperial body, the king being its supreme ruler.

Early modern rituals worked to delineate the relationship between different social and political bodies nested within the larger imperial body and borrowed on other ritual vocabularies in order to do so. The most important borrowing came from scripture, and the concept of the spiritual body of Christ, as exemplified by the passage from Romans: "For as in one body we have many members, and not all members have the same function, so we, who are many, are one body in Christ . . ."[16] In his influential political manual for *corregidores*, Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla applied the body metaphor to local politics. He regarded respect for authority as the principal prerequisite for good government because without it, "he who governs does not dare rule, nor do subjects wish to obey."[17] Playing on the passage from Romans, the jurist argued that just as in the "human body there are different members, some more noble than others, in the Republic there are parts that are more inferior to others," and for this reason, some individuals must naturally rule. According to Castillo y Bobadilla, all royal officials represented the king, who in turn, represented God; all colonial officials, therefore, served as reflections,

[16] Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 231; Roman 12: 4-5.
[17] Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla, *Política para corregidores*, vol. 2 (Madrid: n.p., 1756), p. 2. The full quote reads "El presupuesto, y lance principal del buen gobierno de la República es la reverencia, y respeto de los súbditos a los Gobernadores; porque faltando esto, ni el que gobierna se atreve a mandar, ni los súbditos quieren obedecer."

or "simulacrum," of the "Eternal Prince."[18] By celebrating hierarchy, imperial ceremonies worked to configure the Spanish social, ethnic, and political groupings into one body, strongly dependent on the ruling king, just as the Church was dependent on Christ and on the head of the spiritual body on earth, the Pope. Rituals of rule worked to endow the political and social hierarchy with sacred significance, creating a link between the monarchy and God.

Like all members of government, the viceroy belonged to the "body" of the monarch and, as acting head of the colonial body politic, contemporaries considered him an extension of the monarch and whether blood-kin or not, legal correspondence often referred to him as a relative of the king. Because the political body organically united king and state, colonial subjects could use viceregal entrances to honor the distant monarch.[19] In order to maintain control over the empire's American colonies, the sixteenth and seventeenth century Habsburgs relied heavily on the physical presence, and symbolic power, of viceroys. By saluting the viceroy, colonial subjects, in effect, paid homage to the king and celebrated the dependency embodied in the notion of empire.

The Spanish monarchs enjoyed a special relationship with God, which viceregal rituals, in turn, celebrated. The Habsburg's foundation myth joined God's favor of the dynasty with Rudolph II giving up his horse so that a priest could deliver the viaticum to a dying man.[20] By defending the mysteries of transubstantiation and the Immaculate

[18] *Ibid*., p. 3. The full quote reads, "Y como en el cuerpo humano hay diversos miembros, unos mas nobles que otros, así en la República hay partes, que son inferiores a otras."
[19] Cañeque, "The King's Living Image," p. 46-47.
[20] Víctor Minguéz, "La monarquía humillada. Un estudio sobre las imágenes del poder y el poder de las imágenes," *Relaciones* 77: 20 (1999), pp. 125-148.

Conception of the Virgin Mary, and by crusading on behalf of the Church, Spain's monarchs sealed the pact with God and continued to earn divine protection. Spanish monarchs, however, never truly represented God and by extension, the viceroy never truly represented the king, but served as an imperfect semblance of him.[21] Puebla's cabildo, in turn, acknowledged that the viceroy served as the closest approximation to the king. After receiving notice of the death of Charles II, for example, the cabildo sent a letter of condolence to the Count of Montezuma, stating that they understood how much he loved the monarch and acknowledged his unyielding loyalty to the deceased king.[22] These types of diplomatic visits constituted, for all effective purposes, trips to "court." In 1722, the cabildo sent two councilmen and the city's porter to Mexico City to congratulate the viceroy on the marriage of Prince Luis I. In order to present themselves with the dignity required, the cabildo awarded each councilman 100 pesos and the porter another 50, presumably to purchase elegant clothing for the "royal" audience.[23] When planning entrances, the cabildo noted that the viceroy was, for all effective purposes, a "prince."

The cabildo of Puebla honored the viceroy in a variety of ways, which included sending him a gift at Christmas, sending letters of condolence for any personal loss and letters of congratulations for any recent promotion or honor, and when the viceroy traveled to Vera Cruz to visit the colony's military fortifications, the cabildo housed the viceroy, saw to his meals, and hosted the entire event like a "mini-entrance." Nothing

[21] Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 28.
[22] Actas, 6 March 1701, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folio 619r-619v.
[23] Actas, 16 June 1722, AMP, AC 40, folio 529v.

compared, however, to the inaugural entrance of a viceroy, something that happened on average every six years. Prior to the 1760s, the viceroy's arrival in New Spain took the form of a succession of "royal entrances," and the route and ceremonial protocol followed by an incoming viceroy remained relatively constant throughout most of the colonial period. After the viceroy disembarked at the port, the cabildo of Vera Cruz set out in canoe to receive him, under the maces or staffs that symbolized the authority vested in all municipal councils. There and elsewhere throughout his journey, councilmen presented him with keys to their respective cities and after entering the city in coach or by horseback, the viceroy proceeded to the main church, where clergy presented him with the pallium, the ceremonial canopy used to cover the Host during processions.

As Curcio-Nagy and Cañeque have illustrated, in the seventeenth century viceroys and bishops customarily entered their jurisdictions for the first time under palliums, but by the eighteenth century it had become an exclusive prerogative of the monarch.[24] The Crown enforced the monarchy's proprietorship over the pallium, probably because of the special relationship between the monarchy and the host, as exemplified by the Habsburg origin myth.[25] The king, moreover, served as the body of the state and as the true head of the imperial body, just as the Savior had inhabited both a corporeal body and functioned as the head of the spiritual body of the Church. Thus, Spain's monarchs guarded their right to the pallium and prohibited others from standing underneath it during specific ceremonies. In 1573, Philip II first prohibited governors of

[24] Cañeque, "The King's Living Image," pp. 310-335.

provinces from entering under palliums and, in 1596 and 1608, Philip III forbade prelates from doing the same.[26]

The latter became a particularly contentious issue, given that in response to Protestant criticism of corrupt, insubordinate, and undereducated priests, the Council of Trent increased the authority of bishops as examples of clerical virtue and as overseers of Catholic orthodoxy. In 1600, the Vatican issued a new Episcopal ceremonial that instructed all bishops to make their inaugural entrances under palliums, and this clearly served to present the bishop as head of the spiritual body of Christ and equate him with the Host and therefore, with Jesus Christ.[27] Christ, moreover, presented the first Pope, Saint Peter, with the "keys to the Kingdom of Heaven," thus making him the head of his spiritual body on Earth. All bishops served as delegates of the Pope and palliums became invested with Episcopal authority.

In 1604, an advisor to the Council of the Indies feared that the reinvigoration of the Episcopate would spark disputes between prelates and royal authorities, and the Crown asked the Pope to repeal the ceremonial, but to no avail.[28] As predicted, the seventeenth century saw several scandals over bishops entering under palliums. In 1658, for example, the cabildo of Puebla asked the viceroy if Bishop Diego Osorio de Escobar y Llamas should be received with a pallium, stating that Juan de Palafox y Mendoza

[26] King to the officials of the Indies, Toledo, 2 June 1596, AGI, Indiferente 427, Legajo 30, folios 457v-458r; King to the officials of the Indies, Madrid, 23 July 1658, AGI, Indiferente 430, Legajo 40, folios 68r-71v; Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 290r-311r.
[27] Marquis of Montesclaros to the king, Mexico City, 23 June 1603, AGI, México 25, No. 25, unpaginated; Marquis of Montesclaros to the king, Mexico City, 1 February 1603, AGI, México 25, No. 41, unpaginated.
[28] Parecer del licenciado Fernando Villa Gómez, fiscal del Consejo de Indias, sobre que no se guarde en las iglesias de indios una constitución de Su Santidad, impresa en Roma 14 de julio de 1600, relativa al recibimiento de prelados de la Iglesia bajo palio y en procesiones públicas, y pide además no sean observadas en dichas iglesias muchas ceremonias que encarga el libro llamado Ceremonial, AGI, Patronato 171, No. 1, folios 1r-5v.

(1640-1648) had been the only bishop in the city's history afforded the honor. After consulting the audiencia, the viceroy ordered that under no circumstances should this be allowed, and the cabildo, in turn, informed the bishop. Insistent on defending Episcopal authority, the cathedral chapter met the bishop outside the city for the entrance and after he dressed in his Pontifical robes and mounted his horse, took out a pallium that they had stealthily hidden and placed it above his head. Enraged, the cabildo complained to the Council of the Indies.[29] Although Puebla saw other cases of bishops entering under palliums, by the eighteenth century, the practice became reserved mainly for processions of the Eucharist and effigies of saints.

Because viceroys represented the king, the question of whether they could enter under palliums proved trickier to resolve. In 1620, Philip III prohibited local leaders from offering the pallium to viceroys during their inaugural entrances, stating that this practice led to increased costs. Councilmen enjoyed the exclusive right to hold the poles of the canopy above the viceroy's head and argued that they needed to don elegant attire in order to do so. Municipal councils, in turn, paid for costumes made of damask, brocade, and European velvet. In order to avoid this expense, the king prohibited the practice, adding that the ceremony was reserved for "our royal persons."[30]

The prohibition, however, did not last. Viceroys did not only exercise real power, they served as symbolic representations of monarchical authority. In 1624, the Marquis of Gelves lost control of the colonial government and in 1638, the Duke of Escalona cited

[29]Añejos: El Virrey a S.M. sobre haber entrado con palio el Obispo de Puebla, Don Diego Osorio, Mexico City, 20 July 1656, AGI, México 38, Num. 15, unpaginated.
[30] King to the cabildo, Madrid, 7 June 1620, AMP, RC 17, folios 236r-237v.

the loss as reason for why he should be allowed to use a pallium for his inaugural entrance; because Gelves represented the king, his inability to use the pallium, in effect, undermined his authority. The Council of the Indies accepted the argument and allowed future viceroys to use the pallium, emphasizing that the privilege derived from the viceroy's role as proxy king.[31]

By the eighteenth century, local officials still made a point of offering the viceroy the pallium for his inaugural entrance, but it had become standard practice to refuse the honor. A painting from the 1755 entrance in Puebla depicts the Duke of Amarillas standing in front of the cathedral chapter's arch refusing the pallium.[32] A manual from 1773 outlined the protocol of *recibimientos* and explained how although viceroys have always been offered palliums, "none have accepted it."[33] By the second half of the eighteenth century, the tradition of the pallium had been reinvented. Now, the ceremony made clear that although the viceroy represented the king, he did not exercise the same authority as the king: a subtle, but important distinction. In order to underscore the authority vested in the ruling governor, local officials, nevertheless, continued to make a public display of offering the pallium.

Other aspects of the ceremony further emphasized the viceroy's role as monarchical stand-in. In Vera Cruz, Tlaxcala, Puebla, and Mexico City, the viceroy listened to thanksgiving masses while seated upon a throne bearing the insignia of the

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[31] Cañeque, "The King's Living Image," p. 316.
[32] Beatriz Berndt L. M., "Memoria pictórica de la fiesta barroca en la Nueva España," in *Los pinceles de la historia: De la patria criolla a la nación mexicana*, ed. Jaime Soler Frost (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, BANAMEX, 2001), p. 95.
[33] Libro que comprende específicas noticias de los patronatos jurados por votivos, 1773, AMP, LV 9, folio 426r.

monarch. The throne rested under a baldachin, a canopy used to cover royal thrones. There, he listened to the customary hymn, the "*Te Deum Laudamus*" ("We Praise You Oh Lord), reserved for ceremonies related to the monarch.[34] In Tlaxcala, Puebla, and Mexico City the viceroy also listened to a laudatory poem describing a triumphal arch, or arches, used to decorate the main plaza, watched bullfights, attended dances, and partook in feasts, all customary components of monarchical entrances. In the seventeenth century, communities like San Juan de los Llanos fed the viceroy and his entourage when he stopped to rest during his overland journey and throughout the colonial period, indigenous communities traveled to key points, such as Huejotzingo, Cholula and Tepeyahualco to meet and honor him.[35]

Upon receiving a letter announcing the viceroy's arrival at the port of Vera Cruz, Puebla's *regidores* began planning for the event by electing commissioners to oversee specific details. One or two commissioners would see to various tasks such as having the streets cleaned for the entrance, ordering neighbors to decorate their homes with luminaries and tapestries, hiring a master of pyrotechnics to build fireworks displays, such as *coronas* (fireworks tied to reed frames in the shape of a crown) and *castillos* (fireworks attached to reed frames in the shape of a castle) scheduling the thanksgiving mass with the cathedral, inviting the religious orders and the city's leading gentlemen, asking the Jesuits or other noteworthy scholars to design the emblems and poetry for the triumphal arch, taking bids from carpenters to construct the city's arch, renting out the

[34] Cañeque claims that church officials reserved the *Te Deum* for royal entrances, but in Puebla people sang the hymn to commemorate military victories, the birth of princes, and oath ceremonies. See "The King's Living Image," pp. 309-310.
[35] Que el gobernador y naturales de este pueblo guarden y cumplen la costumbre que ha habido en los recibimientos, 25 October 1673, AGN, Indios 24, Expediente 525 bis, folio 396r.

main plaza to a carpenter to build the bullring for the fights and then charge admittance, see that the purveyor of meat donates bulls for the *corridas*, or customary bullfights, and finally and most importantly, see to the hosting of the viceroy and his entourage. Wealthy residents donated mirrors, tapestries, and other ornaments to decorate the palace, and councilmen contracted a chef for the viceroy's many feasts, commissioned convents and pastry chefs to make sweets for the viceroy's pleasure, hired someone to make flavored waters and ice creams, and acquired all food, candles, china, crystal and silverware necessary for the event.

The cabildo also made sure to attire the city's mace bearers, purchase elegant dress for the cabildo or order the treasurer to provide a stipend so that each *regidor* could have his own costume made, purchase a gift for the viceroy, and hire coachmen to chauffer the viceroy around the city. Sometimes, councilmen also contracted peons to repair the roads, so that the viceroy's coach could approach the city smoothly.[36] The cabildo, furthermore, elected two commissioners who, along with the city's porter, traveled to the village of Tepeyahualco to kiss his hand in the name of the city in a gesture of deference connoting vassalage. The cabildo and cathedral chapter greeted the viceroy on the road from Tlaxcala and the *alcaldes ordinarios* presented him with a new horse and saddle with which to make his triumphal entrance.[37]

[36] Cuenta del costo que se hizo en la compostura de la entrada de esta ciudad desde el puente de Noche Buena hasta la de San Francisco, AMP, LC 15, folios 3r-8v.
[37] For how councilmen prepared for viceregal entries, see the section titled "Moda y forma con que esta Nobilísima Ciudad debe recibir a los Excelentísimo Señores Virreyes que pasan al gobierno de la Imperial Corte de México, y así mismo el nombramiento que se hace de comisarios para el adorno del Palacio" in Libro que contiene los Patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 391r-399r.

Art historians and historians have written extensively on the iconography of the triumphal arches, but, as noted, no contemporary descriptions of cabildo-sponsored arches exist for eighteenth-century Puebla. In the seventeenth century, however, the municipal council customarily paid for the printed description of the arch that would normally stand on the street of the merchants (Calle de los Mercaderes/Calle 2 Norte), immediately to the right side of the palace, and the cathedral would commission a printed description of its arch, that would stand in front of the side door of the cathedral, facing the main plaza.[38] As in many early modern cities, the arches relied on Greco-Roman mythology to laud the viceroy, present him as a proxy king, and communicate a set of expectations for the viceroy to meet.

Designers relied on standard tropes borrowed from emblem books and other printed descriptions of arches. In Puebla, as elsewhere, organizers often presented rulers allegorically as the Sun. The comparison stands to reason, given the necessity of the sun for life and its constancy; it rose and set every day and its benevolent rays extended over the farthest reaches of the world. Because the sun was also a symbol of divine power, it helped establish a link between the king and God. In America, the sun proved an exceedingly popular symbol with which to represent the king; as Victor Mínguez has noted, it shined equally as bright in Spain as in the colonies, thus highlighting the justness of the imperial monarch.[39] The cabildo of Puebla understood that the viceroy represented

[38] Fee, "La Entrada Angelopolitana," p. 284.
[39] See Víctor Mínguez, *Los reyes solares: Iconografía astral de la monarquía hispánica* (Castelló de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 2001), pp. 211-245.

the king and in 1688, the cabildo's arch cast the viceroy as the sun who eliminated both "shadow and danger."[40]

Organizers of royal ceremonies, moreover, customarily compared rulers to saviors, or even to "The Savior;" indeed, triumphal entrances echoed the Advent, or Christ's entry into Jerusalem, creating "a transcendent moment, by emphasizing the monarch's messianic-eschatological mission rather than a particular theory of government."[41] Again, this comparison extended to the viceroy – the colony's proxy king. Organizers employed this standard conceit time and again in Puebla's viceregal arches, and canons customarily made the comparison during the cathedral's thanksgiving mass. In 1696, for example, canon José Gómez de la Parra compared the virreina, whose name was Maria, to the Virgin, the viceroy's son, whose name was Jesus, to Christ, and the viceroy to both Joseph and God the father. At another point in the sermon, he also compared the viceroy to Christ and the entrance to the Advent. In doing this, the canon implied that the viceroy would help poblanos survive the terrible epidemic and poor harvests that had recently scourged the city and thus communicated a struggling people's expectations.[42]

At least one judge from the Inquisition, however, took issue with this comparison, arguing that the term "Savior" explicitly refers to salvation from sin, not liberation from material problems. Another judge, however, excused the usage, and his

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[40] Fee, "La Entrada Angelopolitana," p. 313.
[41] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, p. 242.
[42] José Gómez de la Parra, *Ciertos i felices pronuncios onerosos si onorosos empleos de un heroyco principe al exemplar de la siempre virgen Maria Señora, Princesa y Reyna en su concepción immaculada que en la solemne fiesta que celebro la Santa Iglesia Cathedral Angelopolitano el diez de diciembre de 1696 años a la entrada del excellentismo Señor Don Joseph Sarmiento* (Puebla: Herederos del Capitán Juan de Villa Real, 1697).

opinion provides insight into how far organizers could go in the laudatory rhetoric of imperial ceremony. He argued that this type of comparison is "extremely common" and justified the search for meaning in the viceroy's name. According to Gómez de la Parra, in ancient dialects Joseph means "Just" and Sarmiento means "Savior." By looking for the hidden meaning in his name, the judge argued that the canon merely wished to exhort the viceroy to follow his destiny and inherent virtues. Indeed, this was a standard rhetorical strategy.[43]

In 1702, Gómez de la Parra also gave the sermon in honor of the Duke of Albuquerque, exhorting him to uphold the legacy of his grandfather, who served as viceroy of New Spain in the seventeenth century (1653-1660). While lauding the Duke and his illustrious family, the canon reminded the viceroy that his grandfather established the *alcabala* at 6 percent, promised to promote people solely on merit, and to grant creoles more positions in the colonial and ecclesiastical bureaucracy. At this particular time in Puebla's history, the city struggled through the Spanish-born Juan José de Veytia's reform of the *alcabala.* The Crown promoted Veytia to the position of *alcalde mayor* in 1699, providing him with the judicial powers necessary to more effectively collect the tax. During the first few years of Veytia's tenure as Superintendent and while functioning as president of the cabildo, he attempted to force clerics who engaged in commerce to pay the *alcabala* and this, naturally, brought him into repeated conflict with the cathedral chapter. The canon's comments can therefore be understood as a plea to the viceroy to intervene on the cathedral chapter's behalf. Although comparably restrained in

[43] Autos hechos sobre las censuras dadas al sermón predicado en la Santa Iglesia de Puebla en la entrada del señor virrey Don Joseph Sarmiento, 1697, AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 703, Expediente 6, folios 543r-573v.

his comparisons, the canon again likened the viceroy to Christ and asked him to imitate the Savior as the model of a just and fair prince. The canon ended his sermon by exhorting the viceroy to look to the cathedral canons, dignitaries, and prelates as trusted advisors, similar to the council of elders discussed by Saint John the Evangelist in his Apocalypse.[44]

Canons likely made these types of comparisons throughout the course of the eighteenth century, just as Puebla continued to host extravagant ceremonies for incoming viceroys. Through the entrance ceremony, councilmen and church leaders lauded the viceroy as a reflection of royal authority and this did not dissipate completely with prescriptions on expenditure. The cabildo, nevertheless, faced new challenges to hosting the oath ceremony. As noted, in 1696 the Crown forbade the cabildo from honoring incoming viceroys with grand receptions. But, since its foundation, the city enjoyed the special privilege of spending up to 1000 *ducados*, roughly 1,380 pesos, on entrance ceremonies. This foundational privilege gave Puebla some leeway in disregarding, and then renegotiating, the prohibition. In 1696, the city simply voted to ignore it and the cost of the viceregal entrance ceremony for Joseph de Sarmiento, the Count of Montezuma, totaled an unprecedented 18,329 pesos, 7 reales. In this year, the city had to host the viceroy's "court:" his family, ladies-in-waiting, lackeys, cooks, pastry chefs, tailors, a surgeon and a host of other personnel. To make matters worse, the 1690s saw

[44] Joseph Gomez de la Parra, *Oracion prosphonema aclamacion laudatoria en honor de la Purissima Concepcion de Maria SS. N. Señora en accion de gracias del nuevo govierno , y festivo ingresso del Exc. Señor D. Francisco Fernandez de la Cueba dezimo Duque de Albuquerque. Conde de Ledezma, y Huelma, Señor de las Villas de Mombeltran, Codozera, . . .*(Puebla: Imprenta del Capitan Sebastian de Guevara, y Rios, 1702).

poor harvests and basic foodstuffs cost significantly more than they had in previous years; eggs costs over five times their usual price and beef and lamb doubled in price.[45]

For most of the colonial period, the cabildo treated the arrival of the viceroy and his entourage as the arrival of "court" and provided a level of luxury befitting a king. The itemized expense report for the reception of the Count of Montezuma provides the most complete account of entrance-ceremony expenditure for the period under study. Considering that 1696 witnessed inordinately high inflation, the report provides a good idea of what playing host to a "prince" entailed. So that others would not think he voluntarily spent an excessive amount, the commissioner prefaced his report with various examples of inflated costs. The entourage, moreover, stayed from 4 November to 10 December, when viceregal entourages normally did not stay more than eight days before moving on to Mexico City. The commissioner claimed to have consulted a report of a visit lasting fifteen days and which cost 12,000 pesos and another lasting twelve days, which cost the city 9,000 pesos. Using these figures, he claimed to have saved the city money; without his frugal bargaining, the commissioner estimated that the event would have cost 36,000 pesos.[46] Regardless of the arguably inflated cost of the event, by comparing this list with evidence from later spectacles, we can reconstruct typical components of an eighteenth-century entrance ceremony.

The cabildo did not just host the viceroy and his family, but indeed, housed, fed, and entertained an entire court. In 1696, the viceroy arrived with his wife, son, nephew,

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[45] Relación jurada dada por el Señor Don Miguel Vásquez Mellado de los gastos hecho en el hospedaje del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Montezuma, in Actas, 17 February 1698, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folios 268v-283v.

[46] *Ibid*., folios 269v-270.

twenty ladies-in-waiting, one hundred and thirty-five pages, a personal physician with his wife and daughter, forty-six tailors, a surgeon, six cooks, twelve pastry chefs, and a host of other personnel who all stayed inside the municipal palace. Coachmen and litter-bearers stayed in local inns, also at the expense of the city.[47] The arrival of such an enormous, and assuredly richly dressed entourage, must have impressed local residents. Poblanos, moreover, did not only see the viceroy and his family during the entrance, but beheld the court during the ceremony's bullfights and when the viceroy made his obligatory visit to each of the city's convents. Councilmen acquired sumptuously decorated coaches for the viceroy's personal use. These were pulled by six mules, the largest number of animals permitted by law to pull a coach and one of the ultimate symbols of status.[48]

The cabildo offered the entourage myriad sensual delights and paid great attention to the elegant details of the fête. It spent, for example, 1,768 pesos on chocolate and sugar alone, from which the viceroy's staff made a variety of confections, but also rich, foaming hot chocolate. The regal couple sipped their daily drink from two cups made of Chinese porcelain which artisans then outfitted with ornate gold-plated feet and matching lids. The city then had fourteen less opulent versions made for other members of the court and presented all of these to the viceroy and virreina as gifts.[49]

During the thirty-six-day stay, the entourage consumed eighteen baby calves, 100 baby goats, and two deer. Entree's also included ham, sausage, and fine cuts of beef.

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[47] *Ibid*., folio 269r
[48] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 396v.
[49] Relación jurada dada por el Señor Don Miguel Vásquez Mellado de los gastos hecho en el hospedaje del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Montezuma, in Actas, 17 February 1698, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folio 269r

Cooks killed approximately 700 birds of an unspecified variety and forty-five "*gallinas de la tierra*" or regional "hens," probably meaning *guajolotes,* or turkeys. The party also consumed whole snapper, as well as massive quantities of sardines, oysters, and shrimp. In 1769, a manual on ceremony specified that the commissioner in charge of hospitality should also make sure to procure tuna, salmon, pickled mushrooms, almonds, olives, and capers from Vera Cruz. The author insisted that the cabildo order the products ahead of time, stating that since they are consumed only on special occasions, they are not readily available in Puebla.[50] Councilmen did not usually enjoy these delicacies in between viceregal entries. The dishes, therefore, served as a marker also of their distinction.

In eighteenth-century Puebla, sugar still constituted a luxury item, and the cabildo acknowledged the status and refined taste of the viceroy by providing an assortment of delicate confections. To cap off the daily feasts, the cabildo purchased sweets from the city's many convents and from other regions of New Spain. The court, for example, nibbled on *turrones* from Oaxaca, *mamones*, a type of sponge cake made in Mexico City, *vigoteros*, long chocolate-filled pastries, and preserves made from regional fruit. As a rather ostentatious touch of elegance, the cabildo had artisans cover 50 oranges and 50 plums in gold leaf. For each night of the viceroy's stay, the cabildo had five large fountains covered in grain and then decorated with the exquisite desserts; by 1769, the number of obligatory dessert fountains had risen to twelve.[51] The cathedral chapter, moreover, provided another twelve fountains to the cabildo for each night of the

[50] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 394r.
[51] Relación jurada dada por el Señor Don Miguel Vásquez Mellado de los gastos hecho en el hospedaje del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Montezuma, in Actas, 17 February 1698, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folios 272v-273v; Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 395v.

bullfights.[52] At the very end of the century, for the entrance of the Marquis of Branciforte, the cabildo commissioned, among numerous other confections, six dozen fancy gold boxes made out of fondant, as well as baskets, roses, hats, oranges, and peaches all molded from this edible mixture of sugar and starch.[53]

The cabildo also made sure to provide a variety of beverages. All entrance feasts included "*aguas*," or flavored water. The cabildo periodically auctioned off a local monopoly known as the "*asiento de la nieve*;" the person in charge of selling "snow" collected the luxury item from the peak of the mountain known as "La Malinche" and transported it to Puebla on mule trains. The snow kept the refreshments cool and, later in the century, served as the base for the ice cream which the *asentista* also provided for the festivities. In 1696, for snow, flavored water, and various serving jugs the cabildo spent over 611 pesos.[54] No celebration would have been complete without the obligatory alcoholic beverages. In 1696, for example, the cabildo spent more than 1,300 pesos, over one-fifth of the entrance-ceremony budget, on wine.[55]

Councilmen usually housed the entourage in the *ayuntamiento*, or "municipal palace." In the period in between entrances, the *alcalde mayor* lived in the building, which stayed sparsely decorated relative to the periods when the viceroy held court. While preparing for entrance ceremonies, councilmen stressed the importance of decorating the palace with the "*decencia*," or decency required. In the colonial period, to

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[52] In a gesture of good will and reciprocity, the cathedral chapter and cabildo actually exchanged twelve fountains of sweets on each night of the bullfights. See Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 399r.
[53] Cuenta de la entrada del Marques de Branciforte y su familia, 1794, AMP, LC 15, folios 69v-79r.
[54] Relación jurada dada por el Señor Don Miguel Vásquez Mellado de los gastos hecho en el hospedaje del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Montezuma, in Actas, 17 February 1698, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folio 278v.
[55] *Ibid*., folio 277v.

behave decently meant to act in accordance with one's social station. Councilmen, therefore, made sure that the viceroy's environment reflected his role as "prince," and converted the building into a "palace" for the reception. The city's wealthiest residents lent paintings, mirrors, tapestries, curtains, silverware, mattresses, pillows, and canopies to dress the palace.[56] Councilmen also made sure to provide the regal couple with appropriate linens. In 1696, for example, the cabildo commissioned embroidered hand towels of cambray, very fine cloth made of cotton linen or cannabis, for the viceroy's and virreina's personal use. In 1769, a manual on ceremony specified that the viceroy's bed linen should consist of sheets and pillow cases made of cambray, a silk blanket, and a coverlet made out of damask.[57]

Linda Curcio-Nagy has argued that in eighteenth-century Mexico City, the entrances of viceroy's became increasingly "private" affairs. The spectacle and explanation of the arch in particular, became gradually deemphasized in favor of plays, dances, concerts, and feasts, indicative, in her estimation, of the monarchy's increasing disregard for entrance ceremonies.[58] Similarly, in Puebla certain activities typical of seventeenth-century festivals fell out of custom. Entrance ceremony documentation, for example, rarely makes mention of jousts or costumed parades. As descriptions of arches became far less common, there is virtually no way to gage whether the arches became less elaborate in the eighteenth century.

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[56] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 392r-392v.
[57] *Ibid.*, folio 393r.
[58] Curcio,"Saints, Sovereignty, and Spectacle," pp. 114-120; Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), pp. 79-83.

Yet, private individuals had always entertained the viceroy's party. In 1696, for example, an acrobatic circus entertained the viceroy on the third night of his stay; although it is unclear who financed the performance, the itemized report states that the cabildo did not. By mid- century, the viceroy attended *fandangos* hosted by the city's leading residents.[59] At the local level, this fails to demonstrate a decrease in the importance of the entrance ceremony. Throughout most of the eighteenth century, the cabildo continued to celebrate the viceroy in much the same way it had the century before.

The cabildo did not simply usher the viceroy to one private event after another. Rather, a viceregal visit functioned as the pretext for hosting a variety of public entertainments. Colonial subjects, in turn, would have come to associate the presence of New Spain's ruler with a series of diversions. Regardless of however long the viceroy stayed in Puebla, the cabildo sponsored at least three nights of fireworks to commemorate the event. In 1696, the cabildo spent a total of 173 pesos for both music and enchanting pyrotechnical displays; artisans erected reed frames in the shape of castles and trees and covered them with fireworks which were then set off at different times. [60] These, of course, were in addition to the "*voladores,*" or those fireworks that went off in mid-air. In 1746, for the entrance of the Count of Revillagigedo, the cabildo spent 342 pesos on fireworks alone.[61]

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[59] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 396v.
[60] Relación jurada dada por el Señor Don Miguel Vásquez Mellado de los gastos hecho en el hospedaje del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Montezuma, in Actas, 17 February 1698, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folio 282r-282v.
[61] See the full inventory for the entrance ceremony. Memoria de lo gastado en el recibimiento del Excelentísimo Señor Don Juan Francisco Güemes de Horcasitas, 1746, AMP, LC 1, folios 570r-649v.

The expense report for the entrance of the Count of Montezuma does not list the amount that the cabildo spent for the arch, suggesting that an individual paid for it as a personal gift to the viceroy. Nonetheless, accounts for the 1746 entrance indicate that the cabildo paid a carpenter 400 pesos to design and, along with a troop of workers, erect and take down an arch. The 1769 ceremonial manual, moreover, affirms the importance of contracting highly educated persons to conceive of a theme that captures the nobility and virtue of the viceroy.[62] Although we unfortunately lack descriptions of cabildo-sponsored arches for the eighteenth century, the practice of lauding the viceroy through an arch evidently remained a central component of the ceremony.

Although some traditional practices fell into disuse, councilmen continued to trumpet the authority of the viceroy through pageantry. The cabildo rented out the plaza for bullfights, paying the toreadors with custom-made costumes; poblanos could witness the opulence and conclude that for the viceroy only the best would do.[63] With a population hovering around 55,000 people, Puebla remained small enough to have been significantly affected by each viceregal visit. The production required thousands of services, and as I examine later, many stood to gain financially from the spectacle. Rumors likely circulated about the refinement of the courtiers, the opulence of the palace, and the sumptuousness of the feasts. Even "private" activities worked to spotlight the authority of the "prince."

[62] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 397v-398r.
[63] See, for example, Memoria de lo gastado en el recibimiento del Excelentísimo Señor Don Juan Francisco Güemes de Horcasitas, 1746, AMP, LC 1, folio 570r.

While the Bourbon State emphasized its authority through pageantry, poblano officials continued to acknowledge the viceroy's quasi-monarchical authority through entrance ceremonies. Although the arch may have become less important in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth and although private functions may have taken the place of public functions like *mascaras*, this did not necessarily undermine the viceroy's symbolic authority. On the contrary, the mystique of the monarchy came partially from the aloofness of the king; like God, he remained intangible and distant, but also benevolent and omniscient. During court ceremonies, spectators rarely got a close view of the king and queen and to see them at all constituted a great privilege.[64] The inaccessibility of the viceroy likely held a similar allure.

During receptions, poblanos rarely saw the almost mythic figure and likely struggled to catch a glimpse of the viceroy during the festivity's many bullfights. One can just imagine people cocking their heads toward the viceroy's private box, elegantly painted and richly adorned with streamers, as he and other officials sipped refreshments and took in the spectacle. For the average subject, to see the viceroy – the handpicked representative of the king – surely constituted a great honor.

The cabildo continued the opulent viceregal spectacle despite increasingly demanding fiscal constraints. Councilmen did not only feel constrained by changing royal prerogatives; the debt inherited from their seventeenth-century predecessors posed a serious challenge to the entrance-ceremony model. The *alcalde mayor*, Juan José de Veytia y Linaje (1699-1722), moreover, had a broad program of reform which included

[64] John H. Elliot, "The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs: A Peculiar Institution?," in *Spain and Its World: 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 142-161.

curbing entrance ceremony expenditure. In 1700, for example, he informed councilmen that he wanted to channel more money to public works, but found attempts frustrated by the cabildo's disorderly bookkeeping. The cabildo lacked a clear list of creditors and had failed to pay for services incurred during the entrance of the Count of Montezuma. Although this will be addressed in depth in chapter 8, Veytia accused the *regidores* of pocketing money designated for specific aspects of the entrance ceremony.[65] In order to pay back part of the cabildo's massive entrance-ceremony debt, on 5 May 1701, the Count of Montezuma granted the cabildo permission to rent out the communal grazing lands on the outskirts of the city.[66]

For the next entrance of the Duke of Albuquerque in 1702, Veytia tried to compel councilmen to pay for the entire event themselves. Several *regidores* dragged their feet and refused to donate money for the arch, or what Veytia called "one of the most principal and necessary" aspects of the reception.[67] In order to pay for the event, the cabildo had to take out yet another loan of 4,000 pesos, which the Duke of Albuquerque also allowed to be paid back with rents from the city's communal grazing lands. In the end, the event cost the cabildo more than 11,000 pesos.[68]

Fiscal challenges did not compel the cabildo to deemphasize the importance of the viceregal entrance ceremony. Despite Veytia's desire to reform the cabildo's spending practices, even he regarded the viceregal entrance as a primary obligation. In 1710, soon

[65] Actas, 23 November 1700, AMP, AC 34, folios 561v-563r.
[66] Actas, 15 May 1704, AMP, AC 35, folios 255v-257v.
[67] Actas, 4 October 1702, AMP, AC 35, folios 112v-114v.
[68] Actas, 15 May 1704, AMP, AC 35, folios 255v-257v. The *alcalde mayor* mentioned this figure during a planning meeting for the entrance of the Count of Linares in 1710. See Actas, 16 August 1710, AMP, AC 36, folio 252r.

after the arrival of the Duke of Linares at the port of Vera Cruz, the *alcalde mayor* held a special meeting to discuss whether or not the city should hold a viceregal entrance. He mentioned the "notorious" cédula which forbade cities from spending any money from the *propios* on entrances, but at the same time mentioned the "immemorial custom" of the celebration.[69] Legally, custom could trump law. The audiencia and Council of the Indies often enquired about local custom when deciding a case and political theorist Jerónimo Castillo y Bobadilla stated that as the head of the body politic, cabildos had the right to "create custom," or legal precedent.[70]

All of the city's *regidores* voted to maintain the grandeur of the celebration, but the city owed an incredible amount of money, including a recent loan of 5,000 pesos for repairs of the River Atoyac. The *alcalde mayor*, therefore, ordered councilmen to force the city's tenants to pay their rent a year in advance. Councilmen offered personal donations from between 300 and 500 pesos and the *alguacil mayor*, who also served as the purveyor of meat, donated 2,200 pesos from the profits of his slaughterhouses. As was customary, the city also agreed to rent out the plaza for bullfights and put the money toward other aspects of the entrance. Although the aggregate amount is unknown, councilmen estimated that at the very least, the event would cost 8,000 pesos.[71]

The cabildo had an equally difficult time paying for the entrance of the Marquis of Valero in 1716. During a lawsuit with the Convent of Saint Dominic, the city had part of its assets frozen and as usual, owed a great deal of back interest on loans. An

[69] Actas, 16 August 1710, AMP, AC 36, folio 249r.
[70] Castillo y Bobadilla, *Política para corregidores*, vol. 2, pp. 19-20, 146.
[71] Actas, 16 August 1710, AMP, AC 36, folios 248r-256r.

earthquake had severely damaged the municipal palace in 1711, and workmen had yet to finish making the costly repairs. The cabildo placed the viceroy and his family in the home of another councilman and somehow went ahead with the entrance ceremony. At one point during the planning, the city's treasurer, baffled regarding how to pay for the event, informed the cabildo that he had received promissory notes for services related to the entrance totaling over 2,000 pesos. Somehow the cabildo managed to finance the celebration[72]

Time and again, the cabildo used creative strategies to finance the viceregal spectacle. In the 1720s, after years of continuing to host elaborate entrance ceremonies, the cabildo asked the Crown for permission to spend the same amount as Mexico City – 8,000 pesos. The king, in turn, granted Puebla's cabildo the right to spend no more than 3,000 pesos of municipal funds on each *recibimiento.*[73] In 1722, before receiving permission to spend up to 3,000 pesos, the cabildo agreed to limit itself to 1,000 *ducados*, auction off use of the plaza for the bullfight, and accept donations to finance the event. Councilmen donated huge sums to finance the Marquis of Casafuerte's entrance; José Fernández de Veytia, the nephew and successor of the *alcalde mayor* Juan José de Veytia y Linage, donated 1000 pesos, the *alférez*, *alguacil* and two other councilmen donated 500 pesos each, two others donated 400 pesos, another 300 pesos, and another councilman offered 200. Even the scribe donated 100 pesos, putting the grand total of personal donations at 3,900 pesos.[74]

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[72] Actas, 27 February 1716, AMP, AC 38, folio 243v.
[73] King to the cabildo, Aranjuez, 18 May 1725, AMP, RC 4, folios 341r-343r.
[74] Actas, 29 August 1722, AMP, AC 40, folio 559r.

In 1739, the cabildo spent more than 20,000 pesos on the entrance of the Duke of the Conquest.[75] Councilmen had initially agreed to spend a total of 9, 235 pesos; 3,000 would come from municipal funds and the rest would come from auctioning off the plaza for bullfights and donations from *regidores*. Not all of the city's councilmen donated their money on time, however, and to complicate matters the viceroy stayed in the city longer than expected. The Duke, moreover, entrusted his ailing son to the care of the city's councilmen, leaving him behind in Puebla after his departure. This contributed to the elevated cost of the entrance, but the fact that this amount exceeded the seventeenth century's most costly entrance ceremony supports the notion that viceregal entrances remained a primary component of the city's political culture.

In order to cover the rising cost of the ceremony and the housing of the entourage, the cabildo used money from the *ejido* fund. The Count of Montezuma had initially awarded the city nine years with which to pay back entrance-ceremony debt with *ejido* rents, and the Crown extended the license for another nine years, but Puebla, nevertheless, failed to pay back the full amount within the allotted time. Although it is unclear whether money from the communal lands continued to go toward the seventeenth-century viceregal-entrance debt, the cabildo collected money from *ejido* rents throughout the eighteenth century.[76] In either a purposeful reformulation of the original agreement or out of sheer misunderstanding, while planning the entrance ceremony for the Duke of the Conquest, the *alférez mayor* Ignacio de Victoria claimed

[75] Actas, 15 January 1744, AMP-BNAH, AC 45, folios 215r-216r.
[76] In 1731, the president of the cabildo referred to the original licenses while proposing to force squatters off communal lands. See Actas, 18 October 1731, AMP-BNAH, AC 41, folios 299v-301v.

that the Count of Montezuma had authorized the use of *ejido* rents to finance viceregal spectacles.[77]

In 1742, for the entrance of the Count of Fuenclara, the city tried once again to limit themselves to the 3,000 pesos and revenues from the plaza, but the deficit eventually rose to over 2,021 pesos. Although the event cost no more than 7,200 pesos, the cabildo tried to play by the rules and avoid using the revenues from the communal lands. One of the commissioners in charge of hospitality covered the deficit and the cabildo tried to make him assume full responsibility for the amount. The viceroy, however, ordered the city to pay him back from the *ejido* fund.[78]

By the entrance of the first Count of Revillagigedo in 1746, the cabildo had become adamant about limiting costs. Nicolás Gómez de Rucoba, the commissioner in charge of hospitality and preparing the palace for the viceroy's stay, proposed spending no more than 6,000 pesos on the entire event. He advocated using the allowed 3,000 pesos and revenues from the plaza; he also proposed prorating 1000 pesos among the city's fourteen *regidores*. Against the cabildo's traditional treatment of the viceroy as a representation of royal authority, what Rucoba proposed marked a subtle, but significant shift, in the outlook of the cabildo. He believed that 6,000 pesos would prove sufficient in hosting the viceroy between eight and nine days and the city could cut costs by refusing to host the virreina's entourage. Another regidor, Antonio de Echeverria, suggested that if the virreina complained, the cabildo would explain to the viceroy that

[77] Vicente Bueno de la Borbolla to the king, Puebla, 1745, AGI, México 821, unpaginated.
[78] *Ibid.*, unpaginated; Actas, 15 January 1744, AMP-BNAH, AC 45, folios 215r-216r; Actas, 5 June 1746, AMP-BNAH, AC 46, folio 252r.

the city suffered from mammoth debt.[79] At least two *regidores*, however, objected, reminding councilmen that they were hosting a "prince." Although the cabildo could not keep to its strict budget, it still managed to remain fiscally cautious, spending only 7,822 pesos, 4 reales on the entire event.[80]

By 1746, the Crown had learned of the cabildo's creative accounting and tried to make all councilmen personally responsible for surpassing the allotted amount for viceregal entrances. The order came through during a year of severe famine, and the money returned to the city was to be put toward supplying the city's public granary. It remains unclear whether councilmen did indeed pay back the money, and there is little indication that they proved more fiscally responsible in upcoming years. The viceregal entry remained an important and exceedingly expensive occasion.

In 1760, the city celebrated the exaltation to the throne of Charles III and the entrance of the Marquis of Cruillas. In order to save money, the city combined the festivities, commissioning, for example, the same series of bullfights for both occasions. Although the city always rented out the plaza for the event and allowed the leaser to collect ticket sales, this still proved a cost-saving maneuver. First of all, the city enjoyed over a week of bullfights for oath ceremonies and the cabildo normally paid for special seating and refreshments for councilmen, their families, and for the city's leading residents. The cabildo, therefore, found it appropriate to combine expenses.[81] Costs did not drop dramatically. Based on surviving promissory notes, the cabildo spent, at the

[79] Actas, 5 June 1746, AMP-BNAH, AC 46, folios 252r-254r.
[80] Memoria de lo gastado en el recibimiento del Excelentísimo Señor Don Juan Francisco Güemes de Horcasitas, AMP, LC 1, folios 570r-649v.
[81] Actas, 5 September 1760, AMP-BNAH, AC 50, folio 182v.

very least, 7,700 pesos on the entrance. Considering that the Marquis entered in the same year the cabildo held extravagant funerary honors for Ferdinand VI and the oath ceremony for Charles III, and that the city spent a total of 26,318 pesos, two reales, and seven granos for all of its annual expenses, 7,700 pesos on one entry was high. The amount represents over one-fifth of the aggregate expenditure for the entire year.[82]

The cabildo highlighted the viceregal entry for a variety of reasons. As we shall see, the ceremonies provided an opportunity to foment class and civic consciousness and the requirements of hosting such a large entourage provided *regidores* with an opportunity to strengthen patron-client relations; as we have already seen, entrance ceremonies demanded vast sums to contract artisans, food vendors, laborers, and servants, as well as to buy all the required merchandise. The ceremonies, however, also remained important because they celebrated the foundational value of the colonial system: respect for royal authority. The political culture allowed Spanish American subjects to experience monarchy and court society vicariously – through the entrance of the viceroy.

Despite the increasing disregard with which the Crown held viceregal entries, poblanos continued to uphold high standards for choreographing the pageant and for hosting the court. *Regidores* consistently managed to manipulate the city budget in order to make the necessary arrangements for each entry. In 1779 and 1783, councilmen asked the reigning viceroys for permission to exceed the 3,000-peso limit, but to no avail. Interestingly, however, the cabildo managed to solicit from one the colony's most

[82] Libramientos del año de 1760, AMP, LV 9, folios 72v-77r.

reform-minded viceroys, the Count of Revillagigedo, as well as from his comparably progressive successors, permission to exceed the limit. Puebla's last viceregal entries of the colonial period were some of the most expensive in its history; the Marquis of Branciforte's entrance ceremony (1794) and stay in Puebla cost the city 9,157 pesos, six reales and one grano, a more or less standard amount for seventeenth-century viceregal entries, but Miguel José de Azanza's (1798) cost an exorbitant 16,224 pesos, four and three-fourth reales. While the last viceregal entrance for Francisco Javier Venegas (1810) cost the city the relatively conservative amount of 10, 467 pesos, one and a half reales, the preceding entrance for José de Iturrigaray (1802) soared to an unprecedented 20,499, seven reales and six granos.[83]

Poblanos perpetuated the grandeur of the fête, partially because they understood the importance of celebrating hierarchy. The practice proved resilient, as post-1752 receptions for incoming governors illustrate. Prior to 1752, the Crown appointed an *alcalde mayor* to serve as president of the cabildo. In 1752, Puebla received its first governor: an official who served the same basic functions as the *alcalde mayor*, but who also had authority over the city's militias. Even though the change indicated only a small increase in "real power" over the previous *alcaldes mayores*, the *regidores* recognized this as a significant change in status for their city. In the seventeenth century, the city had celebrated the entrance of a new *alcalde mayor* with bullfights and a small feast. In the early eighteenth century the custom of holding bullfights waned with the ailing

[83] Reinhard Liehr, *Ayuntamiento y oligarquía en Puebla, 1787-1810*, vol. 2., trans. Olga Hentsche (Mexico City: Sep/Setentas, 1976; first published 1971), p. 81.

economy and only the feast remained. Even this, however, represented a mere semblance of previous custom. Councilmen simply provided the *alcalde mayor* with two hundred pesos to treat the cabildo to a meal in celebration of his arrival. Councilmen made no plans for the event. But, with an upgraded position, came an upgraded ceremony. Now, councilmen hosted bullfights, paid for fireworks, and held a sumptuous feast. Although not on the grand scale of the inaugural entrance of the viceroy, the events could easily cost the cabildo 1000 pesos.[84]

The colonial system could not have functioned without a strong respect for hierarchy and constant demonstrations of loyalty. Through spectacles like the viceregal entrance, officials reminded plebeians that regardless of the vast distance that separated America from Spain, Mexico had a "prince" to act in the king's stead. At the local level, colonial subjects looked to the viceroy as the proximate embodiment of royal authority and the viceregal entrance, in turn, served to present the viceroy as the king's closest minister and as a virtuous conduit of the royal will. Late seventeenth-century measures against viceregal extravagance and the Bourbon monarchy's reassessment of entrance ceremony expenditure could not alter this tradition. Certain customs dissipated, but hardly ever did they fall into complete disuse. Even mock battles turned up again in a late eighteenth-century entrance ceremony. The entrance ceremony celebrated hierarchy: the most fundamental and necessary value of colonial politics.

Imperial ceremonies, such as *juras*, *exequias*, and viceregal entries worked to cement loyalty to the monarch, but other commemorations, such as patron saint days,

[84] Razón del producto de los propios y arbitrios, 1792, AMP, LV 1, folio 163r.

Corpus Christi, and Good Friday served to promote the tenets of the universal Catholic faith. Indeed, Puebla's councilmen used ceremony to legitimize both Church and state, the foundational pillars of the colonial institution. As I examine in the following chapter, just as royal ceremonies and entries helped bring court life to Puebla, thereby reminding *poblanos* that their world extended beyond the local, religious ritual helped encourage feelings of belonging to the Roman Catholic Church.

Chapter 4: Universal Religion in a Local Context: The Cabildo's Patronage of the Roman Catholic Church

In 1776, Visitor General José de Gálvez and General Treasurer Francisco Antonio Gallarreta ordered the city of Puebla to cease sponsoring feast days for six of its fourteen patron saints, arguing that the cabildo had never truly committed itself to celebrating and subsidizing the feast days of Saint Philip of Jesus, Saint Theresa, Saint John of the Cross, Saint Nicolas of Tolentino, Saint Rose of Lima, and Saint Francis Xavier.[1] According to the reform-minded officials, councilmen should have signed a contract or sworn a public oath to confirm a saint's standing as a city patron. Councilmen, however, did not differentiate between these saints and those it had sworn publicly or contractually to revere.[2] Within the confines of the meeting room, councilmen agreed to perpetually honor each patron saint's feast day, and the municipal notary recorded the solemn promise in the cabildo's weekly minutes. Regardless of whether they made a formal commitment, councilmen regarded all their patron saints as important *abogados,* or lawyers, who saw to the city's interests in the celestial court. When electing patron saints, *regidores* regarded public oaths and written contracts as mere formalities; little did they know that one day, high-ranking administrators would use this formality against the cabildo.

[1] Pedro de López de Villaseñor, *Cartilla vieja de la Nobilísima Ciudad de Puebla deducida de los papeles auténticos y libros antiguos, 1781* (Puebla: Secretaría de la Cultura, 2003), p. 280.

[2] Gálvez and Gallareta's decision to cut some patron saints and not others seems somewhat arbitrary. In 1611, councilmen elected Saint Joseph and Saint Barbara as patrons to protect against lightning, but did not swear public oaths or commit contractually to celebrate their feast days. The bureaucrats, however, approved these devotions. See Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 31v-32v, 60r.

Yet, despite the importance attributed to their patron saints, Puebla's *regidores* could not have been surprised by Gálvez' order to reduce the cabildo's religious obligations. Indeed, the Visitor General and his assistants had been attempting to reduce the amount that the cabildo spent on religious ritual since their arrival in 1765. Shortly after disembarking at the port of Vera Cruz, Gálvez ordered Puebla's councilmen to freeze all spending until he and his staff could conduct a proper review of the city's finances, ensuring that local leaders directed all disposable income towards the city's new militia.[3] By January 1766, the *regidor* and *procurador mayor* (the city's legal representative) Ignacio Vallarta Villaseptien objected formally to Gálvez' intervention, arguing that he prevented the city from meeting its financial obligations, such as interest payments on loans and the annual 25-peso subsidy required for each of its patron saints.[4] In October 1768, Gálvez's assistant, José Antonio de Areche, ordered the city to provide a detailed report on the provenance of its patron saint obligations, specifying whether or not the fiestas had been ordered by His Majesty.[5] After reviewing the report, the *Contaduría General*, or general treasury, cut the number of the city's required feast days and also placed limits on expenditure for Corpus Christi.[6]

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[3] Actas, 19 October 1765, AMP-BNAH, AC 51, folios 513v-514r.
[4] Actas, 28 January 1766, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 18r-18v.
[5] Actas, 1 October 1768, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folios 367v-370r. The cabildo then commissioned local intellectual Pedro López de Villaseñor to pour through the difficult script of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century minutes and compile a comprehensive report on the cabildo's ceremonial obligations, resulting in: Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20. From this material the cabildo's senior councilman and editor of Libro de patronatos, Antonio Bacilio Arteaga y Solórzano, oversaw the creation of Libro que comprende específicas notícias de los patronatos jurados por votivos [. . .], 1773, AMP, LV 9.
[6] According to the ordinances published in 1787, the total cost of Corpus Christi could not exceed 126 pesos and four reales, while as before councilmen could easily spend 100 pesos on fireworks alone. Mariano Enciso y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles, del reino de la Nueva España* (Puebla de los Ángeles: Oficina de Don Pedro de la Rosa, 1787), p. 91; In 1744, the cabildo spent 314 pesos, 3 reales on fireworks. See Actas, 19 June 1744, AMP-BNAH,

The general treasury's reductions formed part of a general attempt on the part of the Bourbon State to curtail ceremonial expenditure throughout the colony. Mexico City, as the *cabezera* or head of the colonial body politic, served as an example to other Mexican cities and in 1771 Gálvez sent Puebla's *regidores* a copy of the changes to the capital's ceremonial calendar that reduced expenditure by approximately one-third. In 1776, Puebla received specific reductions from Gálvez, limiting the amount that councilmen could spend on Corpus and the number of its patron saints.[7] Faced with the possibility of a sizeable reduction, in 1776 the cabildo asked the viceroy for permission to continue subsidizing all of its customary religious holidays. The viceroy's *fiscal*, or legal advisor, ruled against the cabildo, arguing that municipal funds could not be used for religious ceremony at the expense of other "more urgent" needs that were "no less pious."[8]

The fiscal's ruling signaled a crucial shift in the ideology of the colonial state. Although Bourbon reformers did not place limits on expenditure for *juras* and other royal holidays, they objected to baroque Catholicism's expression of faith through ritual components that stimulated the senses, such as music, candlelight, effigies, and flowers. Reform-minded administrators wished to channel capital customarily spent on pious devotion into enduring projects that helped the colony advance socially and economically

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AC 45, folio 317r. Itemized expense reports from the end of the century indicate that the cabildo could not spend more than 18 pesos on Corpus Christi fireworks. See, for example, Cuenta y relación jurada que presenta Don Ignacio María de Victoria Salazar y Frías, alférez mayor y regidor más antiguo, y su diputado de fiestas, 1792, AMP, CP 14, folios 2r-57r.

[7] José de Gálvez to the cabildo, Mexico City, 22 January 1771, AMP, LV 18, folios 26r-43v; María José Garrido Aspero, "Las fiestas cívicas en la ciudad de México: De las ceremonias del estado absoluto a la conmemoración del estado liberal," (Master's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), p. 42; Actas, 3 February 1776, AMP, AC 55, folios 26v-30v.

[8] Actas, 20 July 1776, AMP, AC 55, folios 188v-189r.

or, in their view, become more productive. Whereas earlier Crown officials regarded religious ceremony as integral to Spanish political culture, now high-level Bourbon administrators envisioned a populace edified by theater and "civilized" by promenades.[9] By regulating devotional expression and by providing alternative diversions, administrators hoped to lessen the appeal of consumption-oriented, sensual, and, in their minds, wasteful forms of piety.[10] The Bourbon state, however, did not sever the connection between religion and imperialism. Late colonial officials continued to appreciate the political utility of religious ritual, favoring an increase in spending for the feast day of the Virgin the Conqueror and supporting the cult of Saint Ferdinand, the medieval king who reconquered Seville for Christian forces. Those saints that provided mere spiritual support and those that functioned more as symbols of poblano identity generally failed to capture the interest of Bourbon administrators.

While the secular arm of the state attacked religious extravagance, the Church also forcefully attempted to curtail the huge amounts that communities spent on ceremony. Puebla's councilmen attempted to protect the city's cults, but high-level functionaries within the Mexican church embraced enlightened absolutism. In 1773, the Fourth Mexican Provincial Council forbade the establishment of new fiestas, initiating a period of increased restrictions on ceremonial expenditure and the curtailment of the

[9] See Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, trans. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera and Sergio Rivera Ayala (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1999 (1987)), esp. pp. 27-95.
[10] Thus, when in 1775 the Royal Accountant of Community Funds discovered that Indian villages lacked collective treasuries because local confraternities had absorbed all capital and property, he railed against these corporations for wasting money on "Church ceremonies, dinners, fireworks and other useless and harmful things." D.A. Brading, "Tridentine Catholicism and Enlightenment Despotism in Bourbon Mexico," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 15 (1983), pp. 11-12

more profane aspects of religious ritual.[11] These changes, ranging from prohibiting processions in the evening to forbidding burial inside churches, all formed part of the Bourbon State's cultural and social project. In order to more effectively direct resources back to Spain, high-level administrators not only tried to limit "superfluous" expenditure, but also attempted to reform the baroque mentality that valued outward displays of religious devotion.

Naturally, the cathedral of Puebla consistently reinforced the notion that poblanos, like all Catholics, formed part of the mystical body of Christ. Late medieval and early modern theologians and jurists conceived of corporations as separate bodies incorporated into the wider body politic. A confraternity, for example, represented a separate body, but it also functioned as a "limb" or "organ" of the local body politic and Roman Catholic Church. At the local level, cabildos and cathedral chapters functioned almost like two heads, but also as limbs within the imperial body, with the king on top, and as part of the spiritual body of Christ, with the Pope as acting head.

As the head of the Roman Catholic Church in Puebla, the cathedral worked tirelessly to integrate poblanos into the spiritual body and to organize ritual occasions that encouraged a sense of belonging. This, of course, would have been expected. More surprising perhaps is the central role that the secular cabildo played in increasing devotion and celebrating Catholicism. The people of the early modern Spanish Empire did not draw a sharp distinction between the sacred and profane, but in questions of ritual devotion, historians have paid more attention to the history of overtly religious

[11] See William Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 253-260.

institutions and far less to the spiritual objectives of municipal governments. This imbalance may stem from an erroneous belief in the relative insignificance of the municipal governments' promotion of faith. After all, with so many religious organizations available in the colonies, why would the faithful need the cabildo? Historian Oscar Mazín has suggested that in eighteenth-century Valladolid, the cabildo played a far less significant role than the cathedral in creating a collective Catholic consciousness. In Puebla, however, the cabildo played an active, if not equally important role in transforming barrio-specific devotions into symbols of urban identity and Catholic solidarity.

Historians have long acknowledged that municipal governments served to promote the faith and encourage devotion by, for example, helping to establish churches, electing patron saints, and organizing Corpus Christi processions. Most studies, however, deal tangentially with this facet of municipal governance. With the exception of studies related to the connection between creole-consciousness and the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe, most works on municipal religiosity focus to one degree or another on councilmen's roles as caretakers of the *real patronato* – the monarch's patronage of, and authority over, the colonial church – and acknowledge that this constituted part of the *raison d'être* of municipal governance.[12]

[12] Over five decades ago, Constantino Bayle devoted a significant portion of his mammoth history of Spanish American cabildos to the religious preoccupations of sixteenth and seventeenth-century *regidores*. See Contantino Bayle, *Los cabildo seculares en la américa española* (Madrid: Sapientia, 1952), chapters 9, 13, and 17. Since then, various historians have focused attention on the religious calendars of municipal governments. Alfonso Martínez Rosales, for example, has described the calendar of patron saints of the cabildo of San Luis Potosí; Martínez Rosales, "Los patronos jurados de la ciudad de San Luis Potosí,"in *Manifestaciones Religiosas en el mundo colonial americano*, vol. 1, ed. Clara García Ayluardo and Manuel Ramos Medina (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericano, 1993-1994), pp. 107-123. Rosalva Loreto

It would be cynical, however, to assume that councilmen fomented devotion merely to keep the church under monarchical control. Studies of the spiritual life of cabildos focus less on how municipal governments fostered devotion and more on how religion served as a tool of the state.[13] Councilmen, however, did not necessarily intend to "delude" the masses through religion. Regidores *believed* and as pious practitioners of the faith and caretakers of the Republic, they regarded it as their solemn duty to encourage religious practice and shepherd the populace. While religious ritual certainly helped to legitimize imperialism, abet the smooth functioning of government, and consolidate corporate and local identities, it also allowed councilmen to shape religious culture in crucial ways; the two goals, of course, were not mutually exclusive. By coordinating religious activity, the cabildo sought, among other things, to create a uniform Catholic consciousness and gain some sense of control over natural calamites. People, in turn, regarded *regidores* as models of Catholic piety. For these reasons, councilmen refused to stand passively by while Crown officials dismantled their sacred calendar.

Councilmen envisioned themselves as spiritual leaders and sought to raise a collective Catholic consciousness by celebrating and sponsoring some of the more significant holidays of the Roman Catholic liturgy. In the socially stratified city of

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López has examined the cabildo of Puebla's seventeenth-century celebrations for the Immaculate Conception, positing that the ceremonies helped consolidate distinct corporate identities; Loreto López,"La fiesta de la Concepción y las identidades colectivas, Puebla (1619-1636)," in *Manifestaciones religiosas en el mundo colonial americano*, vol. 2, pp. 87-104. Linda Curcio-Nagy has focused on the cult of the Virgin of the Remedies in Mexico, arguing that the cabildo co-opted the image, previously revered by natives, to protect itself against popular uprisings; "Native Icon to City Protectress to Royal Patroness: Ritual, Political Symbolism and the Virgin of Remedies," *The Americas* 52: 3 (January 1996), pp. 367-391.

[13] A crude example of this approach can be found in Rosa María Acosta de Arias Screiber's Marxist history, *Fiestas Coloniales Urbanas (Lima - Cuzco - Potosí)* (Lima: Otorongo, 1997).

Puebla, religious ritual served an important integrative function. Historian William I. Christian has observed that Spanish urban religiosity was more corporate and less communal than in the countryside, where communities were more socially homogenous and where dependence on agriculture necessitated collective supplications to gain control over nature; in early modern cities, social and racial divisions, and affiliations based on profession, neighborhood and religious sodality "compartmentalized" religious experience.[14] Local government co-opted a variety of corporate devotions, superimposing a uniform Catholic identity over a somewhat insulated religiosity.

By publicly participating in the Christmas and Easter feast day cycles and by co-sponsoring particular religious events, councilmen attempted to reinforce ties to the universal church, illustrating that Roman Catholicism is "everywhere geographically, continuous historically, the same essentially, and available indiscriminately."[15] Councilmen, moreover, provided examples of pious behavior and in this way, played a crucial role in the shaping of religious sensibilities. Finally, by maintaining a league of patron saints, the municipal government had a ready selection of divine intermediaries to appeal to in any of a variety of crises. Even more important, poblanos had come to expect this service. Therefore, by examining the cabildo's calendar of religious holidays, we can examine another set of reasons why councilmen resisted monarchical interference. Having come to rely on religious ritual as a tool of integration and as a way

[14] William I. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 149.
[15] John A. Hardon, *Modern Catholic Dictionary* (Bardstown, KY: Eternal Life, 1999), p. 553.

to respond to the vagaries of nature, the cabildo could not conceive of reneging on its ceremonial commitments.

Throughout the colonial period, Puebla benefited from a highly developed religious structure that supported diverse forms of Catholic expression and conveyed the pervasiveness of religiosity in the life of the city. Parishes, convents, chapels, hospitals, and schools divided and subdivided its spiritual topography. The Sagrario Metropolitano (Metropolitan Tabernacle) served as the principal parish, followed by the parish of San José (Saint Joseph) to the northeast of the city; both parishes catered to the primarily Spanish and mestizo residents of the center, but San José exercised jurisdiction over several outlying indigenous villages as well. The Sagrario oversaw six churches: the Chapel of the Indians within its cemetery, the Church of Our Lady of the Joys, two churches devoted to the Virgin of the Sorrows, and until 1767, the Church of Saint Mark, which then became the head of its own parish. The parish of Saint Joseph included a chapel for the Indians in the cemetery, and churches devoted to Saint Paul, Saint Anthony, Saint Ann, and Our Lady of Loreto. The other three parishes stood in poorer, largely indigenous areas on the outskirts of the Sagrario. The parish of Santa Cruz (the Holy Cross) stood on the northwest side of the San Francisco River and supervised churches devoted to Saint John of the River, the Divine Mercy, and the Christ of Xonocaltepec. The parish of San Ángel Custodio (Saint Angel the Custodian) stood to the southwest of the river and oversaw the churches of Our Lady of the Remedies and Saint Balthazar. San Sebastian (Saint Sebastian) encompassed the south and southeast

portion and held jurisdiction over churches devoted to Saints James, Michael, and Mathew, and the Virgin of Guadalupe. These parishes, in turn, all fell under the jurisdiction of the cathedral.[16]

By 1754, Puebla housed mendicant convents under the rule of the Dominican, Franciscan, Discalced Franciscan, Augustinian, Mercedarian, Jesuit, and Carmelite orders, as well as hospitals under the patronage of Saint Paul, Saint Hippolytus of Charity (i.e. the Hospital of Saint Roche), Juan de Dios (Saint Juan of God), the Bethlehemites and the Royal Hospital of Saint Peter, under the direct supervision of the Cathedral. In total, by the end of our period, poblanos benefited from 15 male convents and at least five hospitals and 16 schools under the direction of religious houses or secular clergy.[17] The city, moreover, housed two associations of secular priests: The Oratory of Saint Philip Neri and the Congregation of Saint Peter.[18] The eleven female convents consisted of those dedicated to Saint Catherine, the Immaculate Conception, Saint Jerome, Saint Theresa, Saint Claire, the Most Holy Trinity, Saint Inez, Saint Monica, the Capuchins, Saint Rose, and Our Lady of the Solitude.[19]

All together, the city served as the home for a large number of religious. According to chronicler Juan Villa Sánchez, by 1746 Puebla, with its population of

[16] Joseph Antonio de Villa-Señor y Sánchez, *Theatro americano, descripción general de los reynos de la Nueva-España, y sus jurisdicciones* (Mexico City: Imprenta de la Viuda de D. Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1746), pp. 243-244.
[17] Ernesto de la Torre Villar, *Historia de la educación en Puebla* (Puebla: Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1988).
[18] Villa-Señor y Sánchez, *Theatro americano*, pp. 244-245.
[19] Rosalva Loreto López, *Los conventos femeninos y el mundo urbano de la Puebla de los Ángeles del siglo XVIII* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2000), p. 42.

50,366 residents, had approximately 1000 secular priests.[20] By 1754, Puebla's male convents counted an estimated 600 members and its female convents housed approximately 900 nuns, putting the total number of religious at around 2,500. Finally, the city also housed five tertiary, or lay, orders that although active in the world, lived under the supervision of regular clergy.[21]

Puebla, therefore, had a formidable church structure, capable of supporting a rich and diverse religious culture. It served as the home to many holy people who developed local followings; several entered canonization processes and two even became beatified. Relics and holy images peppered the city's spiritual landscape and provided residents with a variety of miraculous objects to turn to in times of need. Poblanos could take heart in knowing that among other relics, the cathedral housed a swatch from a purple cloak worn by Christ, a piece of Saint Andrew's cross, a fragment of the Virgin Mary's veil, a hair from the head of Saint Peter, and a cane belonging to Saint Cornelius.[22] Poblanos also had the option of turning to miraculous effigies of saints, some of the most popular being Jesus the Nazarene in the Parish of Saint Joseph, the Virgin of the Rosary in the Convent of Saint Dominic, Our Lady of Defense in the cathedral, *el Señor de las Mil*

[20] Juan Villa Sánchez and Francisco Javier de la Peña, *Puebla sagrada y profana: Informe dado a su muy ilustre ayuntamiento el año de 1746 (Facsímil)*, rev. ed. (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1997; first published 1835), p. 39. By 1755, reports of priests running gambling houses and selling alcohol prompted the king to order Bishop Pantaleón Álvarez y Abreu to temporarily cease granting holy orders. See King to the Marquis of Amarillas, Madrid, 11 September 1755, AGI, RCO, folios 171-172.
[21] Anonymous, *Puebla en el virreinato: documento inédito del Siglo XVIII* (Puebla: Centro de Estudios Históricos d Puebla, 1965), pp. 37, 59, 61.
[22] Eduardo Merlo Juárez, "Las reliquias de la catedral de Puebla," in *La catedral de Puebla en el arte y en la historia*, ed. Montserrat Galí Boadella (Puebla: Secretaría de Cultura), pp. 85-96.

Maravillas (the Father of the Thousand Miracles) in the convent of Saint Monica, and Our Lady of the Sorrows, housed in the Convent of Saint Dominic.[23]

The cathedral and cabildo encouraged devotion, but poblanos mainly practiced their faith through religious sodalities or by participating in the pious events organized by their neighborhood churches and/or convents. According to Villa Sánchez, by 1746 the city had forty-eight confraternities.[24] At the micro-level, these organizations helped cement the relationship between locality, profession, and devotion; in Puebla, as in other Spanish cities, members of the same profession generally congregated in the same barrio and joined the same confraternity. Construction workers, for example, generally lived in the barrio known as el Alto and participated actively in the confraternity of the Holy Cross. Weavers tended to congregate in the parish of Saint Joseph and joined the confraternity devoted to their patron, Jesus the Nazarene.[25] Confraternities, moreover, often had their own chapels either in churches, convents, hospitals, or schools, and this reinforced a site-based sense of religious identity and a fragmented sense of community.[26] According to historian Robert Schneider, brotherhoods bound members to their faith, but "did so in a fashion that tended to promote identification within their particular confraternity rather than the larger community of Christians."[27]

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[23] Villa Sánchez and de la Peña, *Puebla sagrada y profana*, pp. 27-28; Loreto López, *Los conventos femeninos*, p. 302.
[24] Villa Sánchez and de la Peña, *Puebla sagrada y profana*, p. 62.
[25] Miguel Ángel Cuenya Mateos, *Puebla de los Ángeles en tiempos de una peste colonial: una mirada al torno Matlazahuat de 1737* (Zamora, Michoacán: Colegio de Michoacán, 1999), pp. 64-65.
[26] Manuel Carrera Stampa, *Los gremios mexicanos* (Mexico City: Edición y Distribución Ibero Americana de Publicaciones, 1954), pp. 91-93.
[27] Robert A. Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse 1463-1789: From Municipal Republic to Cosmopolitan City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 107.

Nothing illustrates the socially destructive potential of this phenomenon better than Puebla's so-called "*guerras.*" On feast days, members of competing barrios gathered into squadrons to wage war against each other with rocks, sticks, and short arms. According to chronicler Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, many participants died or suffered serious injuries during these feast-day battles. Rival neighborhoods carried banners and pendants bearing images of their barrio's saints into battle, but may have also displayed the insignias of the neighborhoods' various confraternities. [28]

As if neighborhood rivalry were not enough, religious sodalities reinforced racial and ethnic divisions, splintering the city's Catholic community even further. At the end of the seventeenth century, Puebla had various confraternities exclusively for Spaniards and Spanish-creoles, such as those devoted to Our Lady of the Rosary, the Holy Cross, and Jesus the Nazarene, but also had confraternities for Indians, mestizos, free people of color, and Afro-Mexican slaves.[29] The cult of the saints, therefore, encouraged group unity and collective piety, but also accentuated feelings of difference based on place, profession, race and/or ethnicity, creating divisions within the broader urban polity.[30]

Puebla's parishes and convents encouraged devotion, and at the same time gave voice to disparate social affiliations and pious practices particular to specific groups. According to historian Rosalva Loreto López, Puebla's female convents integrated the

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[28] Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles en la Nueva España, su descripción y presente estado*, vol. 2 (Puebla: Ediciones Altiplano, 1962), p. 85.

[29] El Señor Inquisidor Fiscal de este Santo Oficio contra el Doctor Juan de Jáuregui y Barcena, canónigo doctoral de la Santa Iglesia de la Puebla y provisor [. . .] por haber impedido que las cofradías de aquella ciudad asistiesen a la fiesta de San Pedro Mártir, AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 711, Expediente 2, folios 108r-225v.

[30] Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, p. 150.

community by hosting commemorative masses and sermons, fiestas of consecration, and liturgical processions. By the same token, however, Loreto López also acknowledges that convents catered primarily to their respective barrios. Four hundred and fifty residents in Puebla had access to water in their homes, and because most convents did, people generally settled around their fountains.[31] Locals attended mass in their churches, purchased sweets outside their gates, and bought other goods in the markets held in their plazas. Convents, in effect, met the practical and spiritual needs of their neighborhoods. But while serving important purposes, they also encouraged compartmentalization, or intensely local identification and specific barrio-based expressions of devotion.

Poblanos, therefore, had a multitude of options for expressing their faith, but at the center of their religious lives lay their neighborhood confraternities, parishes, convents, and the feast day celebrations for the saints of their respective barrios. Residents of particular barrios celebrated their neighborhood feast days and customarily attended the fiestas of other confraternities in the city, carrying the insignias of their particular religious sodality. When a confraternity organized a procession it would cordially invite the members of other corporations and provide them with a small gift of two reales for participating. Confraternities with more humble members– blacks, poor mestizos, and Indians – were more likely to attend these festivities than the wealthier sodalities of Spaniards or Spanish-creoles.[32]

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[31] Loreto López, *Los conventos femeninos*, pp. 57-69.

[32] El Señor Inquisidor Fiscal de este Santo Oficio contra el Don Juan de Jáuregui y Barcena, canónigo doctoral de la Santa Iglesia de la Puebla y provisor [. . .] por haber impedido que las cofradías de aquella Ciudad, asistiesen a la fiesta de S. Pedro Mártir, 1699, AGN, Inquisición 711, Expediente 2, folios 133v-125r.

Poblanos spent a considerable amount of time in religious fiestas. In the parish of Saint Joseph, for example, residents attended the feast day of the Patriarch, the fiestas of their confraternities, and the feast day of the saint of their particular barrio. At a minimum, then, most residents had the obligation of annually attending three religious holidays particular to their parish or neighborhood, but the number could certainly be greater considering that in the early modern Iberian world, people often claimed membership in several confraternities. Most fiestas extended over eight days and attracted vendors from all over the region. These vendors set up *pulque* and food stands in the streets surrounding the church and helped create an atmosphere of revelry.[33]

In addition to these more conventional forms of religious expression, the indigenous people of Puebla also reformulated prehispanic beliefs and blended indigenous elements into their Catholic devotions. Carnival, which took place three or four days before Ash Wednesday, represented a particularly "popular" holiday. Residents engaged in days of merrymaking as release before the austere days of Lent. Cabildo members did not help finance any activities related to Carnival, but *alcaldes ordinarios* (annually elected judges) did help police the barrios. Indigenous dancers took to the streets in the barrio of Santiago dressed as *huehuecentones*, or elderly shamans. According to chronicler Miguel Zerón Zapata, these shamans lived at the base of the mountain range of Tlaxcala (now, the mountain "la Malinche"). Indians supposedly used to go to the mountains on pilgrimages and to offer tribute to the shamans.[34] In the early

[33]Para que los puestos donde expende pulque en la ciudad de Puebla, no se muden ni pasen a los barrios donde celebren fiestas [. . .], 1625, AGN, Inquisición 49, Expediente 213, folios 213v-215v.
[34] Miguel Zerón Zapata and Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, *La Puebla de los Ángeles en el siglo XVII* (Mexico City: Editorial Patria, 1945), pp. 30-31.

eighteenth century, troops of Indians dressed like these shamans during Carnival and carried large dolls representing indigenous women, complete with traditional *huipiles*. To the displeasure of church officials, Indians then decorated these dolls with Catholic medallions or supposedly Christian relics and danced them around on the streets of Santiago. The practice was so ingrained in the culture of Carnival that Puebla had various craftsmen dedicated to making and repairing the dolls.[35] The custom lasted throughout the eighteenth century and apparently extended to holidays other than Carnival. In 1760, the governor of Puebla forbade men from dressing up like *huehuecentones* for the oath ceremony for Charles III.[36] In the 1790s, the Crown forbade the dances outright.[37]

Christian has suggested that early modern Spain had a two-tiered religious structure; the universal church represented one tier and localized cults the other.[38] Yet, the case of Puebla suggests that early modern religiosity may best be analyzed through a three-tiered model, represented by 1) neighborhood-based devotions and religious sodalities, 2) devotions particular to the city as a whole, and finally 3) the universal Roman liturgy and Spanish imperial cults. While arguing that universal religion could at times be personalized and made "local," Christian regards the difference between local religion and the Roman liturgy to be of primary significance. Although this may be the

[35] Autos originales que se siguieron en la ciudad de la Puebla cerca de haberse quitado a unos *gueguentones* [sic for huehuentones] una muñeca con que andaban profanando y haciendo incisión de las imágenes de nuestro señor Jesucristo y su Santísima madre, y reliquias de sus santos, 1702, AGN, Inquisición 711, Expediente 2, folios 201r-248r.
[36] Bando sobre la jura a Carlos III, 20 June 1760, AMP, RC 14, unpaginated.
[37] Charles Gibson, *Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 151.
[38] Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, p. 22.

case for the countryside, in Puebla, as in other Spanish cities, municipal leaders worked actively to transcend the local and strengthen peoples' identification with the Roman Catholic Church.

Both the cathedral and cabildo played key roles in promoting urban religiosity, or cults that allowed poblanos from all barrios and occupations to express collectively their membership in the spiritual body of Christ. In diocesan sees, cathedrals served an important integrative function by helping to mediate the atomizing effects of barrio-based devotions. Recently, Mazín has analyzed local religious practice in the cathedral chapter of colonial Valladolid. In addition to following the Roman Catholic liturgical calendar, the cathedral prioritized the imperial liturgy by, for example, celebrating the Virgin Mary's patronage of Spain and weekly masses in honor of the king, and marked a host of important occasions for the universal church, such as the canonizations of saints. Yet, despite giving priority to Vatican-directed and imperial functions, the cathedral chapter did not disregard the local cults particular to Valladolid's various barrios. By the early eighteenth century, for example, residents of Valladolid had become accustomed to placating God during times of pestilence by processing with a crucifix from the Convent of Saint Catherine. By mid-century, the cathedral had replaced it with its own supposedly miraculous crucifix, known as the "Crucifix of the Sacristy." By co-opting a local devotion, the cathedral extended its spiritual hegemony and centralized its authority.[39]

[39] Oscar Mazín, "Culto y devociones en la catedral de Valladolid," in *Tradición e identidad en la cultura mexicana*, ed. Agustín Jacinto Zavala and Álvaro Ochoa Serrano (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1995), pp. 305-342.

Similarly, by following the Roman liturgical calendar of fixed and moveable feasts, honoring beatifications and canonization of saints, and celebrating jubilee years, the cathedral of Puebla repeatedly connected poblanos to the values of the Roman Catholic Church. Certain occasions, however, had the ability of affirming dramatically that Puebla's citizenry belonged to something greater – a global Catholic community and an empire dedicated to expanding and strengthening its borders. The cathedral chapter and cabildo, for example, affirmed the importance of the church hierarchy through entrance and consecration ceremonies for incoming bishops. Furthermore, municipal leaders also commemorated the rise of Popes. In 1775, for example, the cabildo illuminated the municipal palace, instructed residents to decorate their homes, and attended a thanksgiving mass in honor of the ascension of Pope Pius IV.[40]

Jubilee years, moreover, allowed for an attachment to the wider Catholic community. Ferdinand VI had requested a jubilee from Pope Benedict XIV, and in Puebla, the period lasted from July to December 1752. As Clara García Ayluardo has argued, the jubilee emphasized fraternity and community; members of religious orders, confraternities, brotherhoods, congregations, and schools attended as corporations.[41] Councilmen, as spiritual examples to the community, also attended with the cabildo's lawyers, judges, scribes, and treasurer. During this period, the faithful received a plenary indulgence for confessing and receiving the sacrament for six months, for visiting specific churches, and for praying for the aims of the broader church. At seven o'clock in

[40] Actas, 23 June 1775, AMP-BNAH, AC 54, folio 308v.
[41] Clara García Ayluardo, "México en 1753: El momento ideal de la ciudad corporativa," in *Los espacios públicos de la ciudad, siglos XVIII y XIX* , ed. Carlos Aguirre Anaya, Marcela Dávalos, and María Amparo Ros (Mexico City: Instituto de Cultura de la ciudad de México, 2002), pp. 20-36.

the morning on the 9th and 10th of August, Puebla's cabildo processed from the municipal palace to the churches singled out for the jubilee. At each stop, councilmen set an example by praying for the extirpation of heresies, the exaltation of the Church, peace between the Christian princes, and the salvation of Christendom.[42]

Puebla, like all colonial sees, periodically received the *Bula de la Santa Cruzada*, or the papal bull of the Holy Cross that granted privileges and indulgences to those who fought in holy wars and to those who donated money for the defense of the faith and the evangelization of the Indians. Municipal officials, ecclesiastical leaders, confraternity members, and regular clergy received the bull outside the city, and after processing to the cathedral, prelates placed the bull next to the main altar. Translators then made clear to the Spanish- and indigenous language- speaking audience that donations helped the king finance the defense of Christendom and the evangelization of the Roman Catholic faith.[43] By donating, poblanos not only could rest assured they reduced their time in Purgatory, but could also feel proud of contributing to the Crown and Roman Catholic Church's missionary endeavors. While remaining congregated in their separate corporations, the publication provided poblanos with an opportunity to affirm their shared identity as Catholics.[44]

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 21; Actas, 3 August 1752, AMP-BNAH, AC 47, folio 523v.

[43] Spain, *Instrucción y forma que se ha de tener, y guardar en la publicación, predicación, administración, y cobranza de la Bula de la Santa Cruzada*, 1728, BN, Col. Lafragua, unpaginated.

[44] Sometimes, extraordinary events also inspired a recommitment to the faith and a demonstration of empathy for struggling missionaries. In 1728, for example, the cathedral organized rogations, or penitential processions, in response to the Emperor of China's persecution of Catholic priests and his destruction of churches and holy ornaments. See Bishop to the Council of the Indies, Puebla, 20 August 1728, AGI, México 844, unpaginated.

Councilmen connected poblanos to the larger Catholic world by subsidizing, organizing, and/or participating in a variety of religious practices related to the Easter cycle of moveable feasts, the Nativity cycle of fixed feasts, patron saint days, and special occasions, such as the inaugurations of churches. The Easter cycle derived from the lunar calendar of the Hebrews and the dating of Passover and the Nativity cycle developed from the Roman calendar and the celebration of the birth of Christ in the tenth month of the Julian solar year. Patron saints reflected the religious sensibility of their communities and functioned as markers of civic consciousness. Catholics all over the world, however, celebrated fixed feasts and the Easter cycle of movable feasts. By lending support to these ceremonies, the cabildo encouraged adhesion to the precepts of the universal church.

The fixed liturgical cycle begins with Advent, the celebration of Christ's incarnation, but in eighteenth-century Puebla the cabildo began its own series of local commemorations with two masses in honor of birth, innocence, and martyrdom – an optional mass in honor of the Christ-child on 26 December and an obligatory mass commemorating the massacre of the Most Holy Innocents on 28 December. On 6 January, all councilmen attended a mass in honor of the Epiphany, the feast marking the adoration of the Christ Child by the three kings. On 2 February, councilmen attended Candlemas, the feast marking the purification of Mary (Table 1).[45]

[45] See the section titled "Siguen las asistencias que se celebran en la Santa Iglesia Catedral assí de patronatos en que debe asistir la Nobilísima bajo de mazas, como a las de tabla, sin la formalidad de ella, sin que se erogue de propios costo alguno," in Libro que contiene los patronatos, AMP, LV 20.

Councilmen, moreover, obligated themselves to attend between five and seven movable feasts. The Easter cycle began with Ash Wednesday, forty-two days before Easter Sunday, and councilmen attended the commemorative mass in the cathedral and, like all Catholics, received the sacramental of blessed ashes. At some earlier time in the colonial period, councilmen listened to sermons known as "Veronicas" on Fridays and Saturdays during Lent, but by our period either the cathedral had ceased providing the sermons or councilmen simply decided no longer to attend. Until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, councilmen attended three lectures on Catholic doctrine at the College of the Most Holy Trinity the week of Palm Sunday and, on Holy Thursday, attended the Divine Offices and blessing of palms in the Cathedral. The week before the Ascension, councilmen attended three obligatory rogations, or processions for the purpose of appealing to God on behalf of the welfare of the community. On the day of the Ascension, exactly forty days after Easter, councilmen attended a mass and sermon in the cathedral. Finally, sixty-one days after Easter, the cabildo participated in the Corpus Christi procession and its octave, an event that it both subsidized and helped to organize (Table 2).[46]

In addition to these required feasts, councilmen had the custom of collectively attending other Easter holidays. These voluntary events differed in that councilmen did not attend *en cuerpo de ciudad*, or as the "body" representing the city; mace-bearers did not lead the cabildo to the church, but *regidores* did sit together once inside. These

[46] Libro que comprende específicas noticias de los patronatos, 1773, AMP, LV 9; Enciso y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles,* pp. 79-92.

Table 1

Ritual calendar of the cabildo, 1773: Fixed Feasts		
	Obligatory	**Exemplary and Devotional**
January	1: Thanksgiving mass for the election of *alcaldes ordinarios.* 3: Procession, mass, and Sermon for Our Lady of the Rosary. 6: Mass for the Holy Kings	20: Procession for Saint Sebastian
February	2: Candlemas. 5: Mass for Saint Philip of Jesus, Martyr of Japan	
March	19: Procession and mass for Saint Joseph	
April		25: Litanies and procession for Saint Mark
May		
June	25: Mass and procession for Saint John the Baptist	
July	25: Mass for Saint James	
August	15-16: Masses for Saint Roche 30: Mass for Saint Rose	15:Mass for the Assumption of the Virgin
September	10: Mass for Saint Nicolas of Tolentino. 13: Procession, mass, and beginning of the annual novena for Saint Joseph. 21: Procession and mass on the last day of the novena for Saint Joseph. 28-29: Masses and procession for Saint Michael.	8: Mass for the Birth of the Virgin
October	4: Mass for Saint Francis of Assisi. 15: Mass for Saint Teresa.	
November	4: Mass in honor of the births of the monarchs. Second Sunday of the month: Mass and sermon for the Virgin Mary. 16: Mass on the last day of the novena for Saint Gertrude. 24: Mass for Saint John of the Cross. 29: Mass in honor of the Most Holy Sacrament.	
December	3: Mass for Saint Francis Xavier. 4: Mass for Saint Barbara. 8: Mass for the Immaculate Conception. 9: Mass and sermon to Make Amends to the Most Holy Sacrament (*de Desagravios al Santísimo Sacramento*). 12: Two separate masses for Our Lady of Guadalupe. 28: Mass for the Martyrdom of the Most Holy Innocents.	26: Mass for the Birth of Christ

Sources: Libro que comprende específicas noticias de los patronatos, 1773, AMP, LV 9; Enciso y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles,* pp. 79-92.

Table 2

Ritual Calendar of the Cabildo, 1773: Movable Feasts		
Event	**Description**	**Obligatory/Exemplary**
Ash Wednesday	Mass and the sacramental of blessed ashes	Obligatory
Discussion of the Doctrines	Attendance at three lectures on Catholic doctrine at the College of the Most Holy Trinity the week preceding Palm Sunday; those in attendance received a jubilee, or plenary, Indulgence	Obligatory/Suspended after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767
Sermons known as Veronicas	Given in the cathedral on Fridays and Saturdays during Lent	Obligatory/no longer observed
Palm Sunday	Blessing of palms, followed by a procession	Exemplary
Holy Thursday	Attendance at the Divine Offices and the taking of communion	Obligatory
Adoration of the Holy Cross	Attendance at the Divine Offices on the morning of Good Friday and at the Adoration in the afternoon	Obligatory
Procession for the Holy Burial of Christ	From the Hospital of Saint Peter to the cathedral, immediately before the Adoration of the Holy Cross	Obligatory
Glorious Saturday	Attendance at the Divine Offices	Exemplary
Monday after Easter Sunday	Attendance at a mass and sermon	Exemplary
Pentecost	Attendance at a mass and sermon	Exemplary
Litanies	Attendance at processions of supplication on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before the feast of the Ascension	Obligatory
Ascension	Mass and sermon	Exemplary
Corpus Christi	Procession to and from the cathedral	
Novena for Saint Joseph for the *Patrocinio*	Sunday following Easter: procession from the cathedral to the parish of Saint Joseph, followed by a mass	Obligatory
Our Lady of the Conquest	Second Saturday after Easter, the first day of the novena: Mass and procession from the Convent of Saint Francis to the Convent of Saint Claire	Obligatory

Sources: Libro que comprende específicas noticias de los patronatos, 1773, AMP, LV 9; Enciso y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles,* pp. 79-92.

events included: the blessing of palms and a procession from the cathedral on Palm Sunday, attendance at the Divine Offices in the cathedral on Glorious Saturday, a procession in honor of the Holy Burial of Christ on Good Friday, the Adoration of the Holy Cross in the cathedral on Good Friday, mass in the cathedral in celebration of Christ's Ascension (forty days after Easter), and mass in the cathedral on Pentecost (fifty days after Easter) (Table 2).[47]

By channeling emotion, these rituals had the means to guide cognition and solidify attachments, allowing people to express their social dependency symbolically. During particularly dramatic rituals, norms and values become "saturated with emotion," and people are more likely to embrace social values if they help elicit some sort of emotional response.[48] In eighteenth-century Puebla, both liturgical cycles allowed local leaders to appeal emotionally to the people and thereby reinforce allegiance to the wider Roman Catholic community. Although optional, councilmen followed the custom of attending a mass and sermon in honor of the birth of Christ and as if to further dramatize the miraculous nature of the event, followed two days later with a mass and sermon for the Most Holy Innocents. When the Magi informed King Herod that the Savior had been born in Bethlehem, he ordered the massacre of all children two years old or younger. Since the fourth century, the Church had honored the children who died for, and instead of, Christ and consequently for making salvation possible for all humankind. From the cult of these martyrs the Church developed the theological principle that all those who

[47] Libro que comprende específicas noticias de los patronatos, 1773, AMP, LV 9; Enciso y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles*, pp. 79-92.
[48] David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 40.

died in a state of innocence ascended into heaven. In 1747, during a severe epidemic, the Hospital of Our Lady of Bethlehem asked the cabildo to make the children patron saints of the city. By collectively honoring the martyrs, all those who had lost baptized children could find consolation in their assured salvation.[49] By fusing their own experience with the exegesis of death and regeneration, poblanos made the event personal. In this period of high infant mortality, feelings of loss and vulnerability likely contributed to the symbolic efficacy of the holiday and strengthened people's identification with the worldview of the Church.[50]

The cabildo also attended the feast of the Purification of Mary, or Candlemas, on 2 February; councilmen listened to a sermon and had their own candles blessed to symbolize the purification of Mary and afterwards, all participated in a procession celebrating Christ as the light of revelation to the Gentiles. Poblanos from all social levels participated in the event and while they held their candles inside the city's dimly lit churches, the officiating priests surely encouraged listeners to affirm their faith in the Church and bask in the Savior's light. This ritual linked domestic devotion to official religious practice, and the population to the basic precepts and values of the Roman Catholic faith. Light symbolized divinity and for this reason candles became mandatory for almost all Christian ceremonials. Mexico City's eighteenth-century testators

[49] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, Libros Varios 20, folios 111-112; David Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 239-240.

[50] According to anthropologist Clifford Geertz, researchers should consider the disposition of the audience in order to assess how observers internalized ritual messages. According to Geertz "The acceptance of authority that underlies the religious perspective that the ritual embodies thus flows from the enactment of the ritual itself. By inducing a set of moods and motivations – an ethos – and defining an image of cosmic order – a worldview – by means of a single set of symbols, the performance makes the model *for* and model *of* aspects of religious belief mere transpositions of one another." See *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 114.

recognized the importance of light, as roughly one-third bequeathed candles or lamps as offerings to saints or to the Eucharist.[51] Puebla's faithful would have also understood that the flame of the candle represented the enlightenment bestowed by Christ. Like all Catholics, poblanos would have kept these blessed candles to burn next to their domestic altars, or possibly to cast light beside the sickbed of a loved one. The ritual provided people with a potent, yet practical reminder of their pledge to the Catholic faith.[52]

The Easter cycle offered various opportunities to appeal to the emotions of the people but of all the holidays, Good Friday proved the most dramatic. In Mexico City and Puebla, authorities banned all public diversions, prohibited the tolling of church bells, and forbade the use of carriages during Holy Week to prepare a climate appropriate for the holiday's many penitential processions and the somber rituals of Good Friday.[53] On 21 February 1663, the cabildo had sworn to collect money for the confraternity of the Holy Burial of Christ, the official religious sodality of councilmen, and to participate in its annual procession.[54]

For the procession of the Holy Burial, the cabildo, confraternities, guilds, and members of the religious orders departed in procession from the Hospital of Saint Peter to

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[51] Brian Larkin, "The Splendor of Worship: Baroque Catholicism, Religious Reform, and Last Wills and Testaments in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 8:4 (Fall 1999), pp. 433-434. D.A. Brading has also observed that in eighteenth-century Michoacán, the cathedral chapter spent more money on Spanish candle wax than it did on its choir school. See *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacán, 1749-1810* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 186-187. For a brief discussion of the significance of candles and of the feast of Candlemas, see Hardon, *Modern Catholic Dictionary*, p. 78.

[52] For a discussion of the significance of Candlemas in early modern Europe see Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 61-62.

[53] Antonio Rubial García, *La plaza, el palacio, y el convento* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998), p. 54.

[54] Marquis of Mancera to the cabildo, Mexico City, 18 March 1673, AMP, RC 5, folio 461-461v; Enciso y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles*, p. 90.

the cathedral with one of the city's most important relics – ash remains of the body of Christ housed in the parish of Saint Sebastian.[55] In the afternoon, the confraternity of the Holy Burial led the procession, carrying the urn holding the Savior's ashes. In 1683, the confraternity asked the Confederation of Saint Peter to co-sponsor the event and in exchange, promised to pay for a requiem mass on behalf of each recently deceased member of the congregation.

In addition to the multitude of secular priests who made up the congregation, the procession also included all those bureaucrats affiliated with the cabildo: the *alcalde mayor* carrying the royal standard, councilmen, *alcaldes ordinarios*, all those who had served as *alcaldes ordinarios* in the past, and all other municipal officials such as *procuradores*, scribes, and the treasurer. The cabildo then followed the city's maces, draped in black to symbolize the bereavement of the entire city. Along the route, the procession made stops in several churches and upon arriving at the cathedral, two representatives from the cathedral chapter stepped outside to accept the royal standard. Together, councilmen then took the urn to the door of the cathedral and members of the chapter carried the Savior's "remains" and the royal standard to an altar for a brief sermon and prayers. After leaving the cathedral, the procession passed by the corner of the Episcopal palace where the bishop watched the event from the comfort of his balcony. At this point, the *alcalde mayor* bowed the royal standard in reverence to the

[55] Actas, 11 June 1721, AMP, AC 40, folio 323v.

bishop before continuing on towards the procession's final destination, the Convent of the Immaculate Conception.[56]

The ritual surely succeeded in provoking a profound sense of grief. Ten flagellants led the procession and by the eighteenth century, evidence suggests that sculptures of members of Christ's grieving family also held prominent places in the funerary rite.[57] Members of the guilds participated as well, preceding the urn carrying effigies of angels, richly adorned and baring insignias of the Passion. The confraternity of the Holy Burial came next, carrying a sculpture of the deceased Christ in his funerary shroud, and the Congregation followed carrying the urn with the Savior's supposed remains. All dressed in mourning attire and mounted participants even took care to drape their horses in black cloth. A contingency of poor people also participated, each wearing long capes and carrying candles.[58]

As in all early modern Spanish religious ceremonies, organizers at times struggled to protect the event from inappropriately profane and distracting activities. On 11 February 1723, for example, the Congregation of Saint Peter complained to the cabildo that vendors sold hot chocolate, sweets, and alcohol during the procession and that men covered their faces with processional hoods, known as *capirotes*, in order to commit

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[56] I pieced this brief description together from various documents. See Actas, 22 April 1761, AMP, AC 50, folios 261-262; Libro que comprende específicas noticias de los patronatos jurados por votivos, 1773, AMP, LV 9, folios 399v-401r; Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 254v-258r; Testimonio de lo acaecido el Viernes Santo de este año en la procesión del Santo Entierro de Cristo [. . .], AMP, RC 5, folios 592r-599v.

[57] Rubial García, *La plaza, el palacio, y el convento,* p. 54. In 1723, the Congregation of Saint Peter suggested that sculptures of Our Lady of Sorrow, Our Lady of the Angels, and Mary Magdalene be given prominence in the procession. Claiming financial difficulty, in 1761 the city's lumber merchants tried to excuse themselves from taking out a sculpture of Mary Magdalene, something they claimed to have been doing since "time immemorial." Actas, 22 April 1761, AMP-BNAH, AC 50, folios 278r-279r.

[58] Actas, 11 February 1723, AMP, AC 40, folios 35v-39r.

"sensual," carnivalesque acts. The Congregation, in effect, criticized the general atmosphere of revelry that surrounded the event and felt that the tone should be set at the opening of the procession with the effigy of Christ that "reminds men of their mortality and misery."[59] One month later, the cabildo publicly reiterated that there should be no public scandal during the procession and banned people from selling goods or inciting an ambience of disorder and revelry. All those caught covering their faces with *capirotes* would be thrown in jail.[60]

In general, Good Friday commemorations worked to stimulate feelings of loss and identification with the suffering Christ. After depositing the urn in the Convent of the Immaculate Conception, the cabildo proceeded to the Cathedral for the ceremony known as the Adoration of the Holy Cross. There councilmen, along with other attendees, gazed upon a cross draped in black and after its unveiling, took turns kneeling or genuflecting before it. Candles marked the presence of God, the giver of light, and to mark the death of the Savior, the Adoration took place before a shadowy, candleless altar.

Both ceremonies worked to integrate the community and to reinforce allegiance to the universal church. The Congregation of Saint Peter, councilmen, and the confraternity of the Holy Burial co-sponsored the procession. Secular priests made up the Congregation of Saint Peter, floridly referred to as the Ecclesiastic Congregation of the Prince of the Apostles and Universal Father of the Catholic Church.[61] In the sixteenth century, Protestant reformers criticized Catholic priests as corrupt and unnecessary

[59] *Ibid*., folios 35v-39r.
[60] Actas, 16 March 1723, AMP, AC 40, folio 47r-47v.
[61] Actas, 12 February 1723, AMP, AC 40, folio 35v.

intermediaries. The Council of Trent responded by defining priests as crucial mediators between the faithful and the divine, by stressing the authority of bishops as guardians of orthodox practice, and by asserting the importance of the church structure. Jesus had instructed the Apostle Peter to care for his "lambs" and "sheep" and offered him the "keys of the kingdom of Heaven." Invested with this authority, Peter became the first bishop of the Roman Catholic Church and all future popes served as the keepers of the "keys of Saint Peter."[62] As members of the Congregation of Saint Peter, the priests affirmed the importance of hierarchical authority. Peter served as the leader of the disciples and by participating in the Congregation and by serving as the pallbearers for Christ's "body" during the procession, the priests cast themselves as loyal apostles. When the *alcalde mayor* bowed the standard in reverence toward the bishop, he displayed respect for Episcopal authority and affirmed the importance of church hierarchy.

The procession integrated corporations throughout the community and fostered affiliation to the broader collective. Religious rituals could strengthen corporate identities, but just as corporations functioned as small pieces of the larger body politic, they also formed part of the spiritual body of Christ —that is, the Roman Catholic Church. The cabildo actively worked to promote identification with the universal church by first providing broad support for the procession. In 1663, when the cabildo committed itself to participating in the event, the confraternity had nineteen silver collection plates made for each of the city's nineteen *regidores*. During Lent, councilmen used these plates to collect money for the confraternity and all proceeds then went toward the

[62] John 21: 16-17; Mathew: 16-19.

procession of the Holy Burial.[63] Secondly, the cabildo policed the procession, making sure that participants and spectators maintained the expected level of decency. Finally, councilmen made sure that all who had pledged to participate in the procession played their expected part.

Alcaldes ordinarios supervised the participation of the guilds, assuring that all processed with an effigy of an angel on Good Friday. Every year, corporations throughout the colony bedecked their angels in rich fabrics and sometimes even jewels.[64] This particular aspect of the ceremonies underscores what Christian posited: at times the universal can become local. As will be addressed in more depth in chapter 5, Puebla's origin myth attributed its foundation to the intervention of angels, who appeared to the first bishop of Tlaxcala in a dream. They pointed out for him the location of the city, and after its foundation, Franciscans formally inaugurated it on the feast day of Saint Michael.[65] As corporations processed with their angels, they may well have made the

[63] Libro que comprende específicas noticias de los patronatos jurados por votivos, 1773, AMP, LV 9, folio 400v.

[64] In 1723, the Congregation of Saint Peter spoke out against this practice, arguing that the more affluent guilds flaunted their wealth in jewels and fine clothes for their angels, while the poorer guilds increasingly fell into debt trying to maintain the expected level of majesty. Nevertheless, *alcaldes ordinarios* continued to order guilds to "carry angels" and in their zealousness, municipal officials frequently overstepped their bounds. In 1726, the *alcaldes ordinarios* tried to force the city's textile merchants to process with an angel, despite the fact that they did not belong to a guild and that the cabildo had previously understood their participation as voluntary. In 1729, the *alcaldes ordinarios* tried to force the city's pharmacists and surgeons to carry an angel in the procession, but they also refused, successfully arguing their case before the audiencia. In 1732, *alcaldes ordinarios* tried to force local wheat farmers to take out an angel in the procession, and the cabildo upheld their exemption. Finally, in 1774, an *alcalde ordinario* tried to force the vendors of *pulque* to carry an angel. The vendors argued, however, that this financial burden would prevent them from paying rent to the city. See Actas, 11 February 1723, AMP, AC 40, folio 37r-37v; Marquis of Casafuerte to the cabildo, Mexico City, 4 April 1729, AMP, RC 18, folios 126v-128r; Actas, 1 April 1732, AMP-BNAH, AC 41, folio 353r-353v; Joachim de Cossio to the deputies of the *Fiel Ejecutoría*, Puebla, 10 March 1774, AMP, RC 10, folio 113r-113v.

[65] Villa Sánchez and de la Peña, *Puebla sagrada y profana*, pp. 12-13; López de Villaseñor, *Cartilla Vieja*, pp. 260-265; José de Mendizábal, "Efemérides del estado de Puebla (1519-1699)," in *Ángeles y*

connection between the universal significance of Good Friday and their own sense of self as members of a city blessed by angels.

Good Friday provided an opportunity to integrate the city spatially as well as socially. The procession, for example, made various stops on its way from the Royal Hospital of Saint Peter to the Convent of the Immaculate Conception on the other side of the plaza, stopping at altars along the route and entering several churches, including the Jesuit Church of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, Good Friday events required the participation of all ethnic groups. The procession of the Holy Burial mainly incorporated Spaniards, Creoles, and mestizos, but Indians and Afro-Mexicans held their own separate processions as well.[66]

Yet, of all of the liturgical holidays, Corpus Christi proved the most significant for its symbolic efficacy and integrative capacity. Earlier I examined how the holiday drew upon the origin myth of the Habsburg dynasty. By emphasizing the sacred pact between God and the Spanish king, the occasion enhanced the legitimacy of the monarchy. I touched on the holiday's capacity to promote social cohesion and suggested that it encouraged a sense of community. Fundamentally, however, Corpus Christi served to educate the populace about foundational principals of the faith and worked to confirm membership in the wider Catholic community. In Puebla, as elsewhere, it constituted the premiere feast day of the liturgical calendar.

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constructores: mitos y realidades en la historia colonial de Puebla (Siglos XVI-XVII), ed. Carlos Contreras Cruz and Miguel Ángel Cuenya (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2000), p. 321.

[66] Rubial García, *La plaza, el palacio, y el convento,* p. 54.

Pope Urban IV established Corpus Christi in 1264, but the feast day did not gain widespread popularity until the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Previously, there had been no feast day to honor the Eucharist, but devotees' claims regarding the miraculous nature of the host – that it spun in its monstrance and emitted rays like the sun - circulated throughout the Catholic world, encouraging universal devotion to the body of Christ. By the sixteenth century the holiday had already gained popularity, but became even more significant in the wake of the Counter Reformation. In response to Protestant incredulity regarding the mystery of transubstantiation, the Council of Trent (1545-1563) affirmed that the consecrated host and wine contained the essence of Jesus Christ and exalted the sacrament of communion above all others. While Protestants criticized the feast day, the Council ordered that "this sublime and venerable sacrament be celebrated with special solemnity and veneration every year on a fixed festival day, and that it be borne reverently and with honor in processions through the streets and public places."[67]

Poblanos, like all Catholics, believed that Christ became fully present in the host at the moment of consecration. By the late middle ages, bells, candles, and incense had become obligatory elements for the Elevation of the Host.[68] In eighteenth-century Puebla, councilmen made sure to provoke the senses during mass and during the annual Corpus Christi procession. The cabildo donated 25 pesos a year toward candles for each of the feast day masses of their patrons and spent exorbitant amounts on fireworks for Corpus Christi. Councilmen did not only pay for fireworks to entertain the populace, but

[67] See session 15, chapter 5 of H. J. Schroeder, ed., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (Rockford, IL: Tan Books and Publishers, 1978), p. 76.
[68] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 58-59.

also commissioned fireworks to mark their exit from the municipal palace and their entrance into the cathedral.

But however much fireworks served to underscore the leadership of the *regidores*, on certain occasions they also announced the presence of the Divine. For the procession of the consecrated Host, the cabildo paid for *castillos*, firework displays in the shape of castles, to go off as the Holy Sacrament left the cathedral, as it moved along the route, and as the procession returned to the cathedral. *Coheteros*, or master fireworks makers, used *cámaras* (loud single blasts of explosives) to mark the initiation of the procession and the moment of elevation during the mass. *Coronas* (pyrotechnical displays in the shape of Crowns) ignited after the priest uttered Christ's words "Take this, all of you and eat it, for this is my body and the bread of the everlasting Covenant." [69]

The experience of ingesting the body of Christ could abet social cohesion, reinforcing membership in a corporate body such as a guild, confraternity, village, or city. The ritual, moreover, reinforced membership in the universal Christian collective and represented "a desire manifest of the loss of self in group."[70] All feast days sponsored by the cabildo constituted first class holidays, or major feast days. On these special occasions, the priest lifted the Eucharist in a haze of incense, illuminated only by candlelight. The cabildo, injecting an element of awe into the proceedings, scheduled fireworks to coincide with the consecration. In the words of anthropologist David Kertzer, "by engaging people in a standardized, often emotionally charged, social action,

[69] Para los fuegos que se gastaron en la víspera y día de Corpus Christi, 1740, AMP, CP 5, folio 100r-100v.
[70] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, p. 162.

rituals make these symbols salient and promote attachment to them."[71] By adding drama to Eucharistic ritual, the cabildo increased the sense of mystery, stirred emotion, and actively reinforced belief in the mystery of transubstantiation.

While Eucharistic ritual communicated the profound impact of Christ's sacrifice and reinforced membership in the broader Christian collective, it also warned people against falling into temptation. Again, the cabildo played a crucial role in communicating this basic principal. In colonial Spanish America, Corpus Christi represented Christ's triumph over heresy and the Spanish Empire's triumph over non-Christian people. *Gigantes*, the large dolls danced about by members of the Puebla's indigenous community, represented groups of conquered peoples, such as Indians, Africans, and Moors. The council, however, also sponsored the *tarasca*, or large wooden dragon, representing sin and intended to symbolize Christ's defeat of Satan. The dragon first debuted in 1616 at a cost of 340 pesos and continued to play a large role in Corpus Christi until at least the 1790s, when the viceroy banned all "profane" elements from Corpus.[72] Although the *tarasca* had clear religious connotations, Bourbon officials considered the dragon too indecorous for such a solemn occasion.

In Puebla, councilmen oversaw much of the preparations for Corpus Christi, making sure to treat the Eucharist with appropriate reverence. In 1581, during a planning meeting for Corpus Christi, councilmen acknowledged that all "devout Christians" had

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[71] Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, p. 40.

[72] López de Villaseñor, *Cartilla Vieja*, p. 308. For an excellent comparison of Corpus Christi under the Habsburg and the Bourbon monarchies see Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, ""Giants and Gypsies: Corpus Christi in Colonial Mexico City," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico,* ed. William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French (Wilmington: SR Books, 1994), pp. 1-26.

the obligation to celebrate Corpus Christi.[73] Assisted by the *alcaldes ordinarios* and the patron of fiestas, the cabildo made sure that the processional route remained clean, that residents decorated and illuminated their buildings, and that neighbors placed altars at the end of each block. The cabildo's 1773 manual on ceremony explained that the council helped fund and organize the event (following the example of "what all of Christendom practices") to express its devotion to the great mystery of the Eucharist.[74]

As with the procession of the Holy Burial of Christ, the municipal government tried to ensure the participation of the city's primary corporations. The cabildo had the city's Indians create flowered canopies for the processional route. In 1607, the cabildo ordered all guild masters to process with their craft's insignias and ordered all other guild officials to carry candles in the procession.[75] Sometimes the cabildo named special commissioners to see to the preparations for Corpus and to make sure neighbors erected altars along the processional route.[76] Municipal leaders regarded the feast day as obligatory for all devout Christians and when neighbors refused to participate, they tried to compel them with the threat of legal censure. In 1732, the city's *alcaldes ordinarios* ordered the silk weaver Joseph de Vera Tamayo to place an altar outside his home. Vera refused, saying his guild enjoyed the privilege of never having to contribute monetarily toward Corpus. The *alcaldes ordinarios* disagreed, arguing that the weaver interpreted the order too generally; the guild's privileges freed members from making monetary

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[73] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 31r-31v.
[74] Bando para la fiesta de Corpus Christi, 12 June 1607, AMP, RC 8, folio 188r; Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 31v; Libro que comprende específicas noticias de los patronatos jurados por votivos, 1773, AMP, LV 9, folios 403r-404r.
[75] Bando para la fiesta de Corpus Christi, 12 June 1607, AMP, RC 8, folio 188r.
[76] This was especially true in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. See, for example, Actas, 8 May 1666, AMP-BNAH, AC 26, folio 244r and Actas, 9 May 1704, AMP, AC 35, folio 254r-254v.

contributions, but said nothing about erecting altars. They ordered the weaver to comply so that "in such a festive day Christendom procures the most solemn public demonstrations possible." They noted, moreover, that the Crown specifically ordered individuals to contribute toward Corpus and that "Christians" should never refuse requests to help fund the event.[77]

The guild master then qualified his position, stating that he never intended to suggest that he would not erect an altar, but that he simply did not want this to set a precedent whereby guild members would be expected to contribute toward Corpus on a yearly basis. The court decided to solicit the opinion of a priest who also worked as a lawyer for the audiencia. Although the outcome of the case is unknown, municipal judges stated explicitly their intention to set an example for the rest of the populace and to compel all residents to attend the event. [78]

The cabildo, however, did not simply make examples of others. Councilmen also saw it as their responsibility to act as models of devout behavior and attended a variety of religious events for this stated reason. The cabildo, for example, attended Palm Sunday, Glorious Saturday, Pentecost, and Ascension services primarily to encourage devotion. The cabildo, moreover, regarded its participation in all sacred occasions as opportunities for awakening the piety of others. The 1787 ordinances of the cabildo, for example,

[77] Altar de Corpus, 1732, AMP, Expedientes 208, folios 134r-139r.
[78] *Ibid.*, folios 134-139. Philip IV ordered that all Christians accompany the Holy Sacrament during the Corpus Christi procession. See Spain, *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (Madrid: Julián de Paredes, 1681), folio 6; Volume 2, Book 3, Title 15, Law 26.

specified that the patron of fiestas should organize "devout" celebrations for the "good example that should be given to the Republic."[79]

Within the logic of the body metaphor, councilmen functioned as heads, at least at the local level, of the Roman Catholic Church, conceived of as the spiritual body of Christ. Early modern Spanish officials did not draw a clear distinction between Church and state, but instead discussed power in terms of "jurisdictions." By virtue of the *patronato real*, or the Spanish monarchs' patronage of the American church, boundaries between jurisdictions remained imprecise.[80] Councilmen thus functioned as heads of the spiritual body of Christ and, poblanos, in turn, were meant to regard councilmen as models of Christian behavior. In 1721, for the inauguration of Puebla's chapel of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the resident priest asked the cabildo to participate in the celebration so that poblanos would feel moved by the councilmen's "great example of virtue" to fulfill their obligations to the "Mother of God."[81] In the same year, the cabildo came into a dispute with the cathedral regarding a question of ceremonial protocol. During the Adoration of the Holy Cross, councilmen refused to stand for the cathedral chapter as they approached the main altar, claiming that this had never been a customary part of the ritual. The cathedral chapter argued, however, that councilmen provided a model of Christian behavior and for this reason, should demonstrate their reverence for God by remaining standing. Chapter members regarded this as critical, "and more so in this city

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[79] Enciso y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de la Puebla*, p. 42.
[80] Alejandro Cañeque, "The King´s Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Seventeenth-Century New Spain," (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1999), pp. 199-200.
[81] Actas, 21 October 1721, AMP, AC 40, folios 366v-367r. The full quote reads: "pues viendo el gran celo devoción, y fervor con que Vuestra Señoría celebrase a la que es reina de cielos, tierra, se fervorizarán y encenderán en la devoción debida a su Majestad, pues con el grande ejemplo de virtud como el que Vuestra Señoría, ejercitará, todos cumplirán con la obligación de hijos amantes de la que es Madre de Dios . . ."

and on a day with such an immense number of Indians, mestizos, blacks, and people from the popular classes in attendance." The chapter argued that the people were prevented from receiving the faith through the "ears" because of their simplicity, and instead received it "through the eyes," looking to councilmen for cues as to how to behave in front of the sacred.[82] According to some accounts, worshippers followed the councilmen's example and remained sitting as priests approached the altar to adore the Holy Cross.[83]

The Roman Catholic Church's cycle of moveable feasts reinforced allegiance to the faith, but the third and longest feast-day cycle, dating from late June to early December, also allowed for citywide expressions of devotion. Feast days of saints fell mainly within the second half of the year and served to consolidate corporate identities, such as residency in a barrio or membership in a guild, confraternity, or, of course, the cabildo. This corporate and local emphasis stands in contrast to the first half of the year and "the church's systematic representation of the universal."[84]

Yet, although cults served as foci of smaller group identities, saints served as symbols of poblano identity as well, and devotion to particular saints transcended spatial and corporate divides. Through the cult of the saints, the cabildo simultaneously encouraged devotion, united the city, and provided a social service to the population

[82] Actas, 30 March 1721, AMP, AC 40, folio 507r; "y más en esta ciudad y en día de tan inmenso concurso de indios, mestizos, negros, mulatos y gente popular que por su rusticidad aunque les debe entrar la fe por el oído es menester ayudársela con la vista para que vean con la suma reverencia que debe tratarse lo sagrado."
[83] El Deán y cabildo de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles da cuenta a V. M. de lo que pasó con el regimiento de esta Nobilísima Ciudad y Don José de Veytia su teniente de Alcalde Mayor, AGI, México 821, unpaginated; Petición de parte de Joseph Rodríguez de Guzmán por el Venerable Deán y Cabildo sede vacante de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Puebla, AGI, México 821, unpaginated.
[84] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, p. 71.

during times of need. Only city councils could elect saints or holy images to serve as patrons of their cities. When the cabildo elected a new saint it had to petition the bishop for permission, but if the bishop wished to make a saint a patron of the city, he had to ask the city council to elect the saint. Cabildos incorporated saints or holy images into the city's divine pantheon for a variety of reasons: a crisis could inspire councilmen to make an oath to celebrate a saint's feast day perpetually, a convent could ask the cabildo to swear an oath to a particular saint, or cabildos could choose to elect a saint in imitation of other great European or New World cities.

All cabildos had at least one patron saint, but many elected numerous "specialist" saints. These then became "lawyers [or advocates] before the presence of God," working on behalf of the city's interests.[85] At its highest point, Mexico City had eighteen patron saints, and by 1756, Puebla followed close behind with fifteen. Not all of Puebla's saints mattered equally, however. At the top of the pyramid stood Saint Michael the Archangel, the cities primary patron, and Saint Joseph, its patron against lightning and storms. The city allocated more money for their feast days – paying for the sermon, candles, and fireworks –and donated 25 pesos annually to subsidize the purchasing of candles for the other thirteen saints.

The cabildo spent over a hundred pesos on the feast day of Saint Michael, who served as a general patron and, a symbol of local identity. The cabildo, however, gave priority to the cult of Saint Joseph above that of Saint Michael and by the eighteenth century, participated in three separate events held in his honor: a celebration on 19

[85] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 31v.

March, the eighth day of a novena beginning one week after Easter, and the first and last day of a novena beginning13 September. Councilmen vowed to celebrate the feast day of Saint Joseph in 1581, but apparently failed to commemorate it consistently. In 1611, alarmed by recent storms and fatal lightning strikes, councilmen decided to seek divine assistance and held a drawing of various saints, including Saint Joseph. After Joseph emerged the winner, the cabildo committed itself to holding an elaborate fiesta on the octave, the eighth day following his feast. This commemoration included a mass and sermon with music, a bullfight, and mock jousts. In 1648, however, the cabildo also began celebrating the last day of a novena beginning the week after Easter, coinciding with the rainy season. Nevertheless, the cabildo and cathedral continued to celebrate the Patriarch's actual feast day by taking the saint on procession to the cathedral for a special mass and sermon with incense and the blessing of bread and palms. This practice continued until 1751, when the cathedral chapter asked the municipal government to transfer the celebration to the Sunday following Easter. At the request of the cathedral chapter, local leaders inaugurated the third and final holiday in honor of Saint Joseph in 1639. The chapter held a novena for the saint beginning every September 13th; the cabildo accompanied the image on procession from its parish to the cathedral and paid for costs associated with the last day of the novena.[86]

In 1611, the storms that precipitated the cabildo's election of Saint Joseph resulted in serious material damage to houses and public buildings and several deaths. The destruction must have been significant to warrant not only a recommitment to his

[86] *Ibid*., folios 31v-47v.

cult, but also to increasing the grandeur of his feast day. Even more indicative of the councilmen's fear, the cabildo also decided to use municipal funds to pay for weekly masses in honor of Saint Joseph. According to chronicler Juan Villa Sánchez, because of periodic masses held in his honor, the storms that repeatedly plagued the city greatly subsided in number and intensity.[87] A significant percentage of the population must have shared his faith in the miraculous powers of Saint Joseph because when hit by the *matlazahuatl*, or typhus, epidemic of 1737, people from all over the city appealed to the saint. In May, several councilmen found written requests affixed to their front doors begging the cabildo to organize a procession for Saint Joseph. By this time, poblanos had come not only to rely on the patronage of the saint, but also on councilmen to appeal to him on their behalf.[88]

By fashioning itself as the caretaker of the cult of Saint Joseph, the cabildo extended its authority over Puebla's largest and most ethnically heterogeneous parish. At the same time, however, the council relied on the saint during times of need, revering and treating him as a powerful intercessor. The cult of Saint Joseph served as a cornerstone of civic identity and formed part of a religiosity particular to the city as a whole. In 1788 the priest who gave the sermon for the coronation of Saint Joseph argued that devotion to the cult helped extinguish the hate that Puebla's barrios had traditionally felt for one another. Devotion to the city, helped create an urban consciousness, a sense of identity that transcended that of guild, confraternity, or barrio. The cabildo advanced this

[87] The chronicler refers to masses held on the 19th of every month. It is unclear whether these were paid for by the cabildo, cathedral, or by some other institution. Villa Sánchez and de la Peña, *Puebla Sagrada y Profana*, p. 34.
[88] Actas, 7 May 1737, AMP-BNAH, AC 43, folio 321r.

process, celebrating the saint's feast day, organizing the yearly novena in honor of his patronage over the city, and participating in the cathedral's annual celebration of his cult. The priest's interpretation of the coronation ceremony applies easily to the ceremonies organized by the city council. As if speaking directly to Joseph, he stated that the event helped to unite "the spirits of discord," turning a cult "particular to your parish" into something that belonged to the entire city.[89]

While uniting poblanos under a shared Catholic identity, annual feast days also provided a needed social service during times of unexpected catastrophe. While local people appealed to Saints Joseph and Barbara to ward off the dangers of storms and lightning, in 1753, the cabildo elected Saint Nicolas de Tolentino to quell earthquakes. Councilmen also elected five saints to protect the city from the ravages of pestilence: Saint Roche (1624), Saint Francis Xavier (1665), Saint Sebastian (1747), and Saint Gertrude (1747) during epidemics and reelected the Virgin of Guadalupe (1738) after the *matlazahuatl*, typhus or typhoid fever, epidemic.

The cabildo had already elected the Virgin of Tepeyac as a general patroness in 1675, but in 1737 Mexico City's *regidores* asked the cabildo of Puebla to elect Guadalupe as a patroness and the poblanos agreed to affirm their vow.[90] The re-induction of the Virgin of Guadalupe can be interpreted as an attempt by Mexico City's creoles to co-opt the local devotion as a symbol of colonial unity or, conversely, as an attempt by Crown officials to sacralize, and thereby legitimize, colonialism. At the same

[89] Joseph Atanasio Díaz y Tirado, *Sermón panegirico, que en la plausible y festiva imperial coronación del santisimo patriarca Señor San Joseph* (Puebla: Oficina del Real Seminario Palofoxiano, 1789), unpaginated.
[90] Cabildo of Mexico to the cabildo of Puebla, Mexico City, 18 March 1737, AMP, RC 10, folios 80r-81r.

time, however, the exigencies of the epidemic and the popular desperation which accompanied it surely influenced the cabildo's decision. On 25 January 1738, councilmen received a letter signed by all the city's guilds imploring them to elect the Virgin of Guadalupe as a patroness.[91]

Councilmen, however, not only appealed to the cabildo's official patrons during times of crisis, but also to other miraculous effigies that had acquired local followings. During natural disasters, such as droughts, famines, epidemics, or successive earthquakes, the cabildo either participated in processions organized by the cathedral or acquired permission from the bishop to hold processions of supplication. The image of Jesus the Nazarene housed in the parish of Saint Joseph attracted a particularly large following for its curative powers and during catastrophes; the city often appealed to the miraculous image. As one of the corporations primarily responsible for shaping Puebla's religious culture, councilmen mirrored and nurtured devotion to the image. In August 1719, for example, the arch confraternity of Jesus the Nazarene inaugurated a new chapel for the image inside the Church of San Joseph. The city's religious orders, the cathedral chapter, the Congregation of Saint Peter, and the cabildo hosted the commemoration, each paying for a full day of celebrations.[92] At some point, the cabildo had even been in the habit of attending a yearly mass in honor of the image.[93]

[91] Actas, 25 January 1738, AMP-BNAH, AC 43, folio 382r.
[92] Actas, 3 July 1719, AMP, AC 39, folios 536v-537r.
[93] At some point, the cabildo had also attended masses in honor of the Virgin of Solitude, another popular image during times of crisis. See Libro que comprende los patronatos específicas noticias de los patronatos jurados por votivos, 1773, AMP, LV 9, folio 432r-432v.

In 1733, upon the suggestion of the *alcalde mayor*, the cabildo organized a procession of Jesus the Nazarene to combat an illness that had been plaguing the city.[94] In 1747, during a serious drought and epidemic, the cabildo sent two emissaries to the bishop to ask for permission to take Jesus the Nazarene on procession. When the saint's confraternity explained that it could not pay for the candles to illuminate the image, the cabildo agreed to cover the expense.[95] In 1761, Puebla suffered from a serious drought and to make matters worse, an unspecified illness had resulted in many deaths. Alarmed, the bishop scheduled a procession of Jesus the Nazarene for 22 June, and asked the cabildo to participate.[96] By engaging in this form of supplication, councilmen sought to gain control of nature and assuage anxiety. At the same time, however, the cabildo affirmed the significance of this local cult and brought it to the attention of the general population. By sponsoring the event, the cabildo also strengthened ties with the parish of San Joseph, the confraternity of Jesus the Nazarene, and, by extension, the affiliated weaver's guild. Through the cult of the saints, the cabildo beseeched God for clemency, while helping to reinforce shared Catholic values. Saint Joseph, Puebla's largest and most racially heterodox parish, served as the home of some of the city's most popular devotions and by incorporating them into the civic liturgy, the cabildo encouraged a collective and particularly local form of piety.

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[94] Actas, 28 June 1733, AMP-BNAH, AC 43, folios 42v-43r.
[95] Actas, 12 May 1746, AMP-BNAH, AC 46, folios 222r-223v; Actas, 14 May 1746, AMP-BNAH, AC 46, folio 227r; Actas, 27 May 1746, AMP, AC 46, folio 241v; Actas, 29 May 1746, AMP-BNAH, AC 46, folios 242v-243r.
[96] Actas, 19 June 1761, AMP-BNAH, AC 50, folio 327r-327v. In May 1762, the cabildo also participated in another procession in honor of the image and the Virgin of the Solitude housed in the Convent of Saint Teresa. See Actas, 7 May 1762, AMP-BNAH, AC 51, folio 63v.

In addition to serving basic material purposes, patron saints integrated the community. Indeed, by electing patrons from different churches and convents, the cabildo integrated Puebla spatially, as well as culturally. In the city-center, the cabildo attended the eve and feast day celebration for Saint Roche (15 and 16 August) in his namesake church attached to the Hospital of Charity, the feast day of Saint Francis Javier in the church of the Jesuit College of the Holy Spirit, the feast day of Saint Nicolas of Tolentino in the Convent of Saint Augustine, the feast day of the Holy Innocents in the Convent of Our Lady of Bethlehem, and the feast day of the Virgin of the Rosary in the Convent of Saint Dominic. In addition to celebrating Saint Joseph in his namesake parish, the cabildo also celebrated the feast day of Saint Gertrude in the Convent of Saint Rose until 1768, when a ceremonial dispute forced councilmen to move the celebration to the Convent of Saint Francis, in the predominantly indigenous parish of Analco. Finally, in the poorer indigenous parish of Saint Sebastian, the cabildo celebrated the annual mass and sermon for the saint from 1751 until 1768, when another dispute forced the cabildo to cease sponsoring the event altogether.[97] By making all of these saints the patrons of the city, the cabildo co-opted scattered devotions into its official pantheon, linked the city spatially, and cultivated a collective religiosity.

[97] According to the cabildo, it only chose to subsidize Saint Sebastian's feast day because Bishop Pantaleón Álvarez y Abreu requested it; the Indian parish was very poor and desperately needed money to subsidize the purchasing of candles for the main altar. See Bishop Pantaleón Álvarez y Abreu to the cabildo, Puebla, 4 January 1721, AMP, RC 10, folio 16r-16v. The cabildo, however, had been attending the feast day as a corporation since as early as the 1720s. In 1723, the cabildo's legal representative in Madrid described Sebastian as "especial abogado contra la peste de esta ciudad" or as the city's special patron or "lawyer" against pestilence. See Testimonio de los asientos puestos para los prebendados en la Parroquia del Señor San Sebastián, AGI, México 821, unpaginated. For the cabildo's relationship with the parish of Saint Sebastian, also see Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 48r-53r.

By promoting saints' cults, local leaders directed the piety of the populace. In 1752, for example, the *maestrescuela* Juan Pérez Salgo asked the cabildo to make Saint John the Baptist a patron of the city.[98] The dignitary had already created a pious fund for the purpose of paying for the annual feast day and thus freed the city council from having to make any sort of monetary contribution toward the event. Pérez Salgo reasoned that the cabildo had "authorized" the event through its attendance in previous years, "giving the people edification with such a Christian act." He hoped that by having the cabildo attend the feast day every year, Saint John's cult would gain an even greater following.[99]

By challenging the cabildo's sacred obligations, Bourbon reformers sought primarily to streamline expenditure and direct it toward more "useful" endeavors. Councilmen resisted because, among other reasons, ceremonies allowed for the public affirmation of authority and because the Roman Catholic faith's cycle of feast days encouraged identification with the universal church and served important, socially integrative functions. Membership in the Roman Catholic Church conferred privileges, one of which being the ability to appeal to divine intercessors during times of need. The cabildo coordinated collective responses to natural disasters and by doing so, promoted specific cults. In this way, the cabildo helped to partially transcend social and economic boundaries and circumvent corporate religious individualism.

By the 1760s and 70s, Mexican religiosity had come under the scrutiny of regalist Church officials who had become proponents of a more introspective, less "baroque" form of piety. The Fourth Mexican Provincial Council, directed by Puebla's Bishop

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[98] The *maestrescuela* was a member of the cathedral chapter and oversaw the cathedral's school.
[99] Actas, 17 June 1752, AMP-BNAH, AC 47**,** folio 509r.

Francisco Fabián y Fuero (1765-1773) and the regalist archbishop of Mexico, Francisco Antonio Lorenzana (1766-1772) reduced the number of obligatory feast days, ordered each cathedral to have a master of ceremonies to enforce ceremonial protocol, and prohibited the adornment of saints' images with actual clothing and jewelry.[100] At the local level, Fabián y Fuero tried repeatedly to interfere with the cabildo's ceremonial activities. For example, in 1767 he prohibited the use of the urn bearing the supposed ashes of Christ in the procession of the Holy Burial.[101] The bishop, moreover, oversaw the removal of the Jesuits in 1767, and although the cabildo minutes barely register it, the expulsion had repercussions for the city's ceremonial calendar. The Spanish Crown expelled the Jesuit Order from all of its dominions in 1767 for, among reasons, refusing to pay the tithe and for failing to submit to Episcopal authority and thus, by virtue of the *patronato real*, monarchical control. Saint Francis Xavier, the martyr of India, functioned as one of the cabildo's patrons and after the expulsion, the cabildo moved his celebration to the Convent of Saint Francis. In 1773, Gálvez ordered the saint's feast day removed from the cabildo's pantheon of patron saints. Traditionally attended by councilmen, the three lectures on Catholic doctrine given by members of the order the week of Palm Sunday did not survive the expulsion.[102]

In the end, the Crown's attempts to curtail expenditure on ritual, the Episcopate's reforms, and the expulsion of the Jesuits did not significantly affect the cabildo's sacred

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[100] Garrido Aspero, "Las fiestas cívicas en la ciudad de México," p. 25; Actas de Cabildo Eclesiástico, 7 January 1771, ACP, ACE 39, folios 119v-120r; Larkin, "The Splendor of Worship," p. 422.

[101] Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles,* p. 242. Fabián y Fuero´s successor, Bishop Victoriano López, reinstituted the practice, stipulating that the urn process on the Monday following Good Friday.

[102] Encisco y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de la Puebla*, pp. 86-87; Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 288v-289r.

calendar. In 1768, the Visitor General created the general treasury and instructed all of New Spain's cabildos to submit a detailed financial account of the previous year's revenues and expenses every February; after being reviewed, the cabildo's accounts would then be subject to the final approval of the viceroy. But Puebla's councilmen continuously dragged their feet and demonstrated particular reluctance with providing annual accounts of their ceremonial expenditure.[103] On 29 June 1774, for example, the general treasury requested the expense report from the city's patron of fiestas for 1772. In November 1775, the General Treasurer Francisco Antonio Gallarreta requested accounts for 1774, which should have been submitted in February, and had yet to receive the report from the city's patron of fiestas for 1772.[104]

Councilmen could not reconcile the new imperatives of the Bourbon State to their traditional role as spiritual guardians. Religious ritual functioned as an ideological apparatus of the colonial state and as a mechanism by which local leaders expressed their authority, but councilmen also used ritual to affirm the community's ties to the universal church and to assist the populace during times of need. In 1771, for example, Puebla suffered from a drought and the resulting poor harvest led to hunger and widespread illness. The cabildo responded by holding a procession to beseech the aid of Jesus the Nazarene.[105] Only two years later, the cabildo's senior councilman, Antonio Bacilio Arteaga, proposed a novena for the image, citing the loss of the fertile Valley of

[103] This was also the case in Mexico City. See Garrido Aspero, "Las fiestas cívicas en la ciudad de México," p. 39.
[104] Francisco Antonio Gallareta to the cabildo, Mexico City, 29 June 1774, AMP, RC 10, folio 92r; Francisco Antonio Gallareta to the cabildo, Mexico City, 8 November 1775, AMP, RC 10, folio 103r.
[105] Actas de Cabildo Eclesiástico, 29 May 1771, ACP, ACE 39, folios 197v-198r; Carta de convite, 1 April 1771, AMP, RC 14, folio 101r.

Balsequillo to drought. This time, however, Viceroy Antonio Bucareli found out about the novena and ordered that because only four *regidores* attended the planning meeting, municipal funds could not be used to cover the costs. Given that municipal funds should be designated for "important goals of the common good of cities and villages," the viceroy argued that whether to hold a novena should have been thought over more carefully. Not regarding the novena as an absolute necessity, he ordered that the four *regidores* who attended the meeting pay back the entire cost from their personal funds.[106]

The cabildo failed to have all of its patron saints reinstated but continued to spend exorbitant amounts on religious ritual. The cabildo, moreover, added on new occasions and embellished older ones. In the 1770s, councilmen began attending the feast day of Saint John of God and increased the ostentation of the feast day of the Virgin the Conqueror.[107] The cabildo also began emphasizing religious holidays that exalted the monarchy, such as the mass and sermon To Make Amends to the Most Holy Sacrament (*Desagravios al Santísimo Sacramento*), established after the War of the Spanish Succession. The municipal government, therefore, did not lack opportunities to serve as models of Christian piety. Furthermore, the municipal government did not cease celebrating the feast days of those saints cut during the General Visitation. Although the cabildo no longer paid the host communities 25 pesos for each feast-day mass, councilmen continued to attend the events as members of the corporation.[108] By co-opting scattered cults into the city's official pantheon, councilmen helped shape a

[106] Viceroy Antonio Bucareli to the cabildo, Mexico City, 16 September 1773, AMP, RC 10, folios 448r-449r.
[107] López de Villaseñor, *Cartilla Vieja*, pp. 236-239.
[108] *Ibid*., p. 39.

religiosity that was both conscious of the universal church and distinctly local in character. The criticisms meted out by Bourbon administrators met with resistance; centuries of practice could not be undone by reformist prescriptions.

Imperial ceremonies, such as *juras*, *exequias*, and viceregal entries worked to cement loyalty to the broader state, while religious ritual helped councilmen attach the population to the values of the universal church. But while ceremonies reminded people that they belonged to a larger political and spiritual body, they also strengthened local identities based on class, corporation, and ethnicity. At the same time, Puebla's councilmen used ceremony to legitimize their own positions, casting themselves as the patriarchs of their local community. The following chapter will examine how ceremonies helped foment civic and corporate consciousness, but also how royal ceremonies, patron saint days, and numerous other occasions helped mediate local tension. Even ceremonies which followed a script could be used to meet local crises and political exigencies.

Chapter 5: Celebrating Class, Corporation, Ethnicity and City: Diverse Affiliations in the City of Angels

In 1771, the cabildo of Puebla received a decree from the Marquis of Croix with a transcription of the ordinances established by the Visitor General José de Gálvez for the governance of Mexico City. Empowered by a cédula issued on 14 March 1765, the Visitor General sought to prohibit all "bad investment" so that money could be redirected toward the "public good." The viceroy sent a copy to the councilmen of Puebla with the expectation that they would comply with the proscriptions placed on the *regidores* of Mexico City.[1]

Perceiving elaborate public rituals as "bad investments," Gálvez reduced the number of patron saints for both Mexico City and Puebla, prohibited the printing of invitations for the cabildo's major feast days, and forbade the issuance of gratuities to councilmen. The Visitor General, moreover, instructed councilmen to keep ceremonial outfits for mace bearers in a trunk inside the municipal palace, and only take them out on the eve of an important function. Previously, *regidores* had new outfits especially made for mace bearers before important events, with the understanding that the men could keep the clothes for their own personal use.[2] Finally, Gálvez forbade councilmen from hosting small banquets for the cabildo and the city's elite on the eve or day of public functions.[3] Through prohibitions such as these, the Visitor General hoped to trim what he perceived as irrational expenditure, simply intended, as he saw it, to enhance the honor of councilmen. In his zeal to modernize the spending practices of municipal governments,

[1] Marquis of Croix to the cabildo of Puebla, Mexico City, 22 January 1771, AMP, LV 18, folios 26r-43v.
[2] Actas, 20 July 1776, AMP-BNAH, AC 55, folios 186r-189v.
[3] Marquis of Croix to the cabildo of Puebla, Mexico City, 22 January 1771, AMP, LV 18, folios 26r-43v.

the Visitor General overlooked the central role of ceremony in creating corporate and civic consciousness, and in enhancing the legitimacy of bureaucratic office holders.

Here I examine the role of public ritual in creating disparate, but unified identities. By sponsoring public ceremonies, councilmen displayed their status and strengthened their positions, but also integrated semi-autonomous corporations, and different social and ethnic groups into a variety of commemorations. Through large-scale public rituals, councilmen managed to encourage simultaneously a sense of inclusion and exclusion; they presented themselves as the ruling elite, while nesting diverse corporate affiliations into a unifying civic identity. Consciously or unconsciously, councilmen benefited from ceremony's symbolic efficacy to strengthen their authority over the population. The political culture, with the sacredness of the king and viceroy, the centrality of the church, and the legitimacy of local governors and the formation of interrelated corporate identities, all came to be lived as "common sense;"[4] ceremony helped portray as natural the political culture's basic tenets of hierarchy and difference.

Historians have long recognized the importance of ceremony for forging national or civic consciousness. Throughout history, leaders have played on historic myths and have "invented traditions" to encourage political unity.[5] In the early modern period, for example, French, Italian, and Spanish rulers traced their lines of descent back to the

[4] For a discussion of "common sense," see E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in the Traditional Popular Culture* (New York: The New Press, 1993), pp. 6-14.
[5] See Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), esp. pp. 1-14.

mythical figure Hercules, and incorporated the hero's image into works of festive art.[6] Richard Trexler has illustrated how the civic culture of Renaissance Florence bound people together under the fiction of communitarian brotherhood, and Edward Muir has shown how the sovereign of early modern Venice created a mystical aura of legitimacy by linking his rule to the cult of the apostle Saint Mark, who supposedly blessed the city while evangelizing in Italy.[7]

Recently, historians of early modern Spain have turned their attention to the way urban leaders have appropriated historic and defining moments in their cities' histories to promote a civic consciousness. Focusing on seventeenth-century Seville, Amanda Wunder argues that cathedral chapter members encouraged the cult of Saint Ferdinand, the thirteenth-century king who liberated the city from the Moors, to unify the port in the face of devastating epidemics and economic depression. Katie Harris writes about the municipal and religious leaders of Granada who seized on the discovery of supposedly Christian relics to superimpose a Catholic history over the city's Muslim past. In both Seville and Granada, civic leaders sponsored corresponding public ceremonies to unify their cities under a shared, if consciously constructed, history.[8]

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[6] Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *La mitología y el arte español del renacimiento* (Madrid: Imprenta y Editorial Maestre, 1952), pp. 70-73; Gothard Karl Galinsky, *The Heracles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowan and Littlefield, 1972), p. 191; Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 26; Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliot, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 157-160.

[7] Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), esp. pp. 213-278; Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 186.

[8] Amanda Jaye Wunder, "Search for Sanctity in Baroque Seville: The Canonization of San Fernando and the Making of Golden-Age Culture, 1629-1729" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2002), esp. chapters 1, 3, and 5; A. Katie Harris, Forging Identity: The *Plomos* of the Sacramonte and the Creation of Civic Identity in Early Modern Granada" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2000), esp. chapters 4 and 5.

Municipal leaders, however, did not necessarily try to force urban residents to adopt a homogenous identity. Alejandra Osorio has challenged traditional assumptions that colonial *limeños* used ceremony to characterize their city which, like Puebla, was founded on a site previously uninhabited by indigenous communities, as "more Spanish than the Spanish," by mounting European spectacles that relegated other ethnicities and cultures to the margins. She argues, instead, that while colonial ceremonies had a "civilizing mission" to indoctrinate colonial subjects into European culture, they also recognized diversity.[9] Similarly, I emphasize public ritual's capacity for strengthening the legitimacy of municipal leaders, while allowing for the expression of diverse affiliations, unified under an overarching political identity. This focus complements historian Solange Alberro's assessment of baroque ceremonies as serving an integrative, as well as a "federalist" or corporative function.[10] Yet, ceremonies did not challenge social hierarchies. While serving the basic objectives of political domination, the ceremonies recognized the validity and inevitability of inequality.

The public rituals sponsored by Puebla's councilmen served to, above all else, exalt their positions within the city and strengthen the cabildo's corporate identity. Regidores did this by primarily tying their authority to the king of Spain, by presenting themselves as the patriarchs of the city, and by mimicking the customs of the European elite. Like the political elite of other cities throughout the empire, Puebla's aldermen enjoyed a variety of ceremonial prerogatives which they jealously guarded as

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[9] Alejandra Osorio, "Inventing Lima: The Making of an Early Modern Colonial Capital, ca. 1540-ca. 1640" (Ph.D. diss., SUNY at Stony Brook, 2001).

[10] Solange Alberro, "Barroquismo y criollismo en los recibimientos hechos a don Diego López Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla, virrey de Nueva España, 1640: un estudio preliminar," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 8: 4 (Fall 1999), p. 444.

distinguishing markers vis-à-vis other members of the elite. Individuals paid great sums for their positions on the council and expected to project their social and political standing to the populace. Councilmen throughout the Spanish Empire benefited from a host of special privileges, which trickled down from corporations farther up the scale of colonial power; that is, cabildo members enjoyed modified versions of the same privileges enjoyed by the king, viceroys, and members of the audiencia. These, in turn, helped define councilmen as representatives of the royal person.

In 1529, Philip II instructed deans and cathedral chapter members in Metropolitan sees to greet viceroys and audiencia judges outside the doors of the church when they came to attend the Divine Offices.[11] Although not codified into law for municipal councilmen, Puebla's *regidores* demanded this same form of courtesy. Complaints regarding aberrant behavior often serve to reveal underlying rules of how things are supposed to work and on several occasions, the councilmen of Puebla complained vociferously about the failure of cathedral chapter members to greet them outside the door of the cathedral on important feast days. These complaints, in turn, reveal that councilmen expected chapter members to greet and escort them inside the cathedral.[12] Likewise, when chapter members paid formal visits to the cabildo to either make a specific request or arrangement for a feast day function, two councilmen met the prelates outside the palace and escorted them inside the meeting room. In Mexico City, moreover, officiating prelates always blessed the archbishop and then the viceroy and

[11] Spain, *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias* (Madrid: Julian de Paredes, 1681); Book 3, Title 15, Law 7.
[12] See, for example, Actas, 21 March 1761, AMP-BNAH, AC 50, folios 261r-262r.

audiencia judges with holy water upon entering a church for an official function.[13] In Puebla, this was also the case; as in the capital, a priest would first sprinkle holy water over the bishop and proceed then to bless the cabildo.

Codified norms regarding ceremonial behavior served to create uniformity and bring the majesty of court life to the colonies. The *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de Indias* specified that ceremonies involving the king in Spain should be similarly observed with his viceroys in Peru and Mexico. For example, when the king attended high mass and received the "peace" - a sacred image - he knelt before the officiating prelate and kissed the vessel, or *portapaz*, which held the object. Likewise, Book 3, Title 15, Law 10 of the *Recopilación* specifies that viceroys should kneel before the officiating prelate when receiving the peace. Local leaders, in turn, complied with the dictates of court ceremonial. As stand-ins for the king, Puebla's councilmen and *alcaldes mayores* also received the peace kneeling, underscoring the reverence of the monarch for the Catholic faith.[14]

Prescriptions and proscriptions served to define councilmen as patriarchs and sacred leaders of the community. When the officiating priest walked down the aisle toward the main altar, he always bowed his head in deference to the cabildo. On the feast days of the cabildo's special patrons, the priest had the obligation of welcoming

[13] Spain, *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*; Book 3, Title 15, Law 9.
[14] Book 3, Title 15, Law 21 of the *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias* states that in Mexico City and Lima, if the cabildo attends a ceremony in which the viceroy and audiencia members are not present, they should receive the peace as well. In Puebla and other New World cities, local leaders commonly received the peace. In Guatemala, for example, the cabildo established obligatory feast days with the condition that officiating priests honor councilmen with a sprinkling of holy water and the ceremony of peace. See Constantino Bayle, *Los cabildo seculares en la América Española* (Madrid: Sapienta, 1952), pp. 584-585.

councilmen at the beginning of the sermon. So it was, when the cabildo elected the Virgin of Guadalupe as a patron of the city in 1675, the prior of the convent of Our Lady of Mercy promised to recognize perpetually the cabildo's sponsorship of the cult at the beginning of the Virgin's feast-day mass.[15] This custom became standard for all religious functions, and not welcoming the cabildo could precipitate scandal. In 1767, the Jesuit order, shortly before their expulsion, held a celebratory mass to inaugurate their new church. The officiating priest, José del Castillo, under the false impression that he only had to welcome councilmen when accompanied by mace bearers, failed to acknowledge the cabildo's presence at the beginning of his sermon. Some *regidores* immediately complained and the following day the priest apologized, claiming ignorance of proper protocol. So that it would never happen again, he added a note to his convent's regulations, specifying that prelates must greet the cabildo at the beginning of all commemorative sermons. The next time the cabildo attended mass at the Jesuit church, he vowed to make sure that councilmen not only receive a proper greeting, but also a public apology for his previous omission.[16]

Public ceremony announced the power of the cabildo and functioned as a vehicle of self-definition for the city as a whole. For these reasons, as well as to ensure public order, the cabildo sought to maintain strict control over ceremonial life. Thus, only the cabildo could grant licenses for public ceremonies. Oftentimes, corporations approached the council for permission to hold their own bullfights or processions, but without a license, no corporation could hold a ceremony on the city's public streets. In 1716, the

[15] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 90r.
[16] José del Castillo to the cabildo, Puebla, 2 March 1767, AMP, RC 10, folio 497r.

cabildo granted the neighbors of the Barrio del Carmen permission to hold bullfights in honor of the feast day of the Immaculate Conception. Because participants apparently engaged in scandalous behavior (i.e. public drunkenness and fighting), the cabildo denied permission the following year.[17] Although councilmen certainly sought to maintain order, they also made sure to claim proprietary control over public ceremony. In 1740, for the entrance of the Duke of the Conquest, the cabildo reduced the size of the ring for the event's customary bullfights. The cathedral chapter objected, fearing it would limit seating for its members and their families. Organizers, however, made the decision to ensure the beauty of the main plaza by maintaining symmetry. The dispute became a point of honor for the cabildo, who regarded the main plaza – the primary stage for most public functions – as its personal property.[18]

Councilmen paraded their prestige during all public functions, but cyclical feast days provided particularly useful occasions for conveying the authority of the ruling elite. As guardians of the city of Puebla, the cabildo had as one of its primary obligations selecting patron saints to adjudicate on its behalf in the celestial court. By the mid-eighteenth century, the cabildo had fourteen patron saints working for the city, and all councilmen had the obligation of attending the feast days of their patrons. A 1769 manual on public ceremony began with a collection of laudatory poems celebrating Puebla's patron saints.[19] On their feast days, the cabildo attended a solemn mass and

[17] Actas, 27 October 1717, AMP, AC 39, folio 66v.
[18] Actas, 17 July 1740, AMP-BNAH, AC 44, folios 159v-160v.
[19] See Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, unpaginated.

participated prominently in a procession, walking beneath the maces, the symbol of the corporation's authority.

Through the cult of the saints, councilmen expressed their economic and social prominence -processing in finery, sitting in places of honor in the saints' respective churches, and being acknowledged publicly as patrons of the cult by the officiating prelates. Yet, some saints embodied the authority of Puebla's councilmen more completely than others. Councilmen saw themselves as patriarchs and not coincidentally, by the eighteenth century, the cabildo's most important patron saint was not, as one might logically assume the Archangel Saint Michael, titular saint of the city, but the "Patriarch" Saint Joseph. Since the early seventeenth century, devotion to Saint Joseph had gained popularity, spurred on by the devotion of the Carmelite order of Saint Teresa. Indeed, before Teresa's canonization in 1618, Puebla's reformed Carmelite convent had been called the Convent of Saint Joseph. The cabildo's devotion, however, preceded its establishment.

By all accounts, around 1580 councilmen elected the Patriarch to combat lightning storms. As with the election of several of Puebla's patron saints, the cabildo had a boy draw names out of a vessel, and in this year, the winner was Saint Joseph. In 1611, alarmed by new rounds of deadly lightning strikes, the cabildo held another election, and Saint Joseph again turned out the winner. Taking it as a sign to augment his cult, the cabildo committed itself to more elaborate devotional activities. Instead of marking the feast day on March 9th with a simple procession and mass, the cabildo took

over the octave of the feast day, added bullfights and mock battles, a sung mass and musicians on the eve of the event. Even more significantly, councilmen decided to elect a priest every year to say weekly masses of appeasement in the parish of Saint Joseph. This priest was given the dual responsibility of saying mass for councilmen in the chapel of the municipal palace on cabildo meeting days, in addition to the weekly masses. The cabildo's priest came to be known as the "chaplain of the cabildo and Saint Joseph."[20]

Eventually, the cathedral chapter and Crown sought to channel the spiritual powers of this popular saint. In 1638, the cathedral began celebrating an annual novena for Saint Joseph in September, and the cabildo assumed responsibility for hosting the events of the last day, including the costly requisite of candles. In 1680, the city received a royal cédula naming Joseph patron of the Spanish Empire, with a papal brief awarding a plenary indulgence to all who visited a church devoted to Joseph on his feast day. As a response to pressure from faithful who saw Joseph's exaltation as a threat to the primacy of the patron Santiago, Charles II rescinded the vow. Spanish American bishops, however, never regarded the Patriarch as a threat to Santiago. Indeed, the First and Second Provincial Councils had already acknowledged the saint as a special patron of the Church in America.[21] Spanish American bishops therefore enforced the brief, and the cabildo, in turn, vowed to celebrate and partially subsidize a special celebration for Joseph, distinguished from other commemorations as the "*patrocinio,*" or patronage, of Joseph over the Spanish America. The fiesta of the *patrocinio* fell in April, while the

[20] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 41v-47v, 126v-128.
[21] William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 271; José María Muría, *Santiago Apóstol: el santo de los dos mundos* (Zapopan, Jalisco: El Colegio de Jalisco, 2002), p. 161.

feast day for Joseph fell in March.[22] The cabildo, therefore, distinguished Joseph's patronage over Puebla from the celebration marking his influence on behalf of the empire, as well as the annual celebration sponsored by the cathedral. In this way, the cabildo made clear that Joseph served crown, church, and city mutually, but independently. Tellingly, in cabildo minutes and official correspondence, councilmen referred to themselves – that is, the cabildo – as "*la ciudad,*" or "the city." Therefore, by the eighteenth century, Joseph had become the premiere patron of the cabildo.

In the seventeenth century and for the first half of the eighteenth, the cabildo and cathedral chapter participated in all three ceremonies: March 9th, the *patrocinio* in April, and the novena held every September. On the feast day, the secular and ecclesiastic cabildo attended a blessing of palms and then walked with the branches in a procession through the parish of Saint Joseph. In 1751, the cathedral chapter asked the cabildo to move the celebration to April, to coincide with the commemoration acknowledging Joseph as patron of the Spanish Empire. Attached to its traditions, the cabildo refused to transfer the celebration to another date. Councilmen argued that they had celebrated his feast day and their octave celebration the same way for one hundred and fifty years and, therefore, saw no reason to change it.[23]

Puebla initially elected Joseph because of the devastating effects of storms and lightning. While the vagaries of nature undoubtedly represented a serious threat, councilmen's fears do not fully account for their promotion of the cult. The Parish of

[22] See an invitation to attend the *patrocinio* extended to the cabildo by the priest of the parish of Saint Joseph, Actas, 19 April 1714, AMP, AC 37, folio 314r.
[23] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, 126v-128r.

Saint Joseph grew in importance at the beginning of the seventeenth century and represented Puebla's most ethnically heterogeneous neighborhood. To the immediate north of the main plaza and the overwhelmingly Spanish Creole *Sagrario Metropolitano*, the parish housed the majority of the city's population. Although it incorporated several poor, and purportedly dangerous, barrios, such as Xanenetla and Xonacatepec, it also incorporated candle-making, glass-blowing, pottery, and textile workshops.[24] Because of the parish's complex social composition and large population, councilmen likely sought to maintain control by making their presence periodically felt on the parish streets. Seen in this context, the cabildo's conscious attempt to associate itself with the Patriarch becomes more significant.

Before 1751, both the cabildo and cathedral chapter attended the feast day celebrations for Saint Joseph by participating in a blessing of palms, incense, and bread and in a procession from the cathedral to the parish to collect the saint's effigy and bring it back to the cathedral. By waving palms as the effigy moved through the streets, councilmen and cathedral chapter members celebrated Saint Joseph's spiritual "triumph," by harkening back to Christ's triumphal entrance into Jerusalem and the waving of palms. At the same time, councilmen had effectively associated themselves with Saint Joseph. During times of epidemic disease, local people asked the cabildo for permission to take the saint's effigy out in processions of supplication; *poblanos* regarded councilmen as guardians of the cult.[25] So, when the effigy processed through the streets on March 9th,

[24] Miguel Ángel Cuenya Mateos, *Puebla de los Ángeles en tiempos de una peste colonial: una mirada al torno Matlazahuat de 1737* (Zamora, Michoacán: Colegio de Michoacán, 1999), p. 61.
[25] Actas, 7 May 1737, AMP-BNAH, AC 43, folio 321r-321v.

people celebrated the triumph of the saint, but also the supremacy of the councilmen – the patriarchs of their city.

By the mid eighteenth century, the municipal government had fourteen patron saints, but the cabildo spent the most money on commemorations devoted to Saint Joseph. Excepting the feast day of Saint Michael, the cabildo usually spent only 25 annually on masses for its patron saints. This money then went directly to the parish or convent that celebrated the mass, earmarked for the purchase of candle wax. Saint Michael, on the other hand, garnered substantially more resources. In 1741, for example, the cabildo spent 335 pesos on its celebration for Saint Joseph, 181 pesos on the feast of Saint Michael, and a combined amount of 250 pesos for its other patron saint obligations.[26]

By the eighteenth century, Saint Joseph surpassed Saint Michael in importance, but councilmen continued to regard the cult of the archangel as fundamental to fashioning themselves as patricians and to the identity of *poblanos* as a whole. Through the celebration of Saint Michael, the cabildo recalled the foundation of their city. Early modern leaders in both Europe and America commonly reenacted sacred and defining moments in their history ritualistically as a way of cementing community identity and endowing their positions with sacred meaning. In Mexico City, the cabildo celebrated the feast day of Saint Hippolytus, the day in which Hernán Cortés, his band of conquistadors, and Indian allies finally took Tenochtitlan from the Aztecs. Councilmen processed with the royal standard, mimicking the act of taking possession in the name of

[26] Cuentas de propios, 1741, AMP, CP 5, folios 253r-261r.

the king, while also acknowledging the saint's divine intercession on behalf of Spanish forces.[27]

Similarly, in Puebla, the cabildo celebrated, and in a sense "reenacted," the city's foundation on the feast day of its titular patron saint.[28] According to Puebla's foundation myth, two angels appeared to the first Bishop of Tlaxcala, Julián Garcés, in a dream and pinpointed for him the site of the city of Puebla. Worried about vagabond conquistadors who exploited indigenous communities, the bishop, along with the second audiencia of Mexico, sought to establish a city of Spaniards; separated from the Indians, these settlers would then have no choice but to work the land themselves. After dreaming of the site in the fertile Puebla-Atlixco valley, the bishop then supposedly searched for and found the city's would-be location. On 29 September 1531, the feast day of Saint Michael the Archangel, a mass officially marked the foundation of the city.[29]

Since Puebla's establishment, the cabildo had committed itself to celebrating Saint Michael's feast day, acknowledging the central role of angels in Puebla's collective history. The commemoration of the feast day also recalled the foundation of the city by casting it as a "ceremony of possession." In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

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[27] Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), pp. 78-79.

[28] According to Mircea Eliade, "every religious festival, any liturgical time, represents the reactualization of a sacred event that took place in a mythical past." See Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religious Man*, trans. Willard R. Trask (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1959; first printed 1957), pp. 68-69.

[29] Juan Villa Sánchez and Francisco Javier de la Peña, *Puebla sagrada y profana: Informe dado a su muy ilustre ayuntamiento el año de 1746 (facsímil)*, rev. ed. (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1997; first published 1835), pp. 12-13; Pedro López de Villaseñor, *Cartilla Vieja de la Nobilísima Ciudad de Puebla deducida de los papeles auténticos y libros antiguos, 1781* (Puebla: Secretaría de Cultura, 2001), pp. 260-265; José de Mendizábal, "Efemérides del estado de Puebla (1519-1699)," in *Ángeles y constructores: mitos y realidades en la historia colonial de Puebla (Siglos XVI-XVII)*, ed. Carlos Contreras Cruz and Miguel Ángel Cuenya (Puebla: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2000), p. 321.

centuries, Saint Michael's feast day constituted a grand affair, consisting of a promenade, or "*paseo*," of the royal standard, which simulated the rite of taking possession in the name of the king of Spain.[30] While debating whether to establish the yearly event, councilmen reasoned that "it was a laudable and admitted custom in the cities of Spain" to commemorate the foundation by parading the royal standard.[31] The event, however, became economically prohibitive for Puebla's councilmen, who alternated hosting the event. The royal standard bearer eventually volunteered to sponsor the event in full, but he also had trouble meeting his obligation consistently. Because of the immense costs involved, by mid century the custom of holding a promenade had fallen into disuse.[32]

The cabildo, however, continued to hold special feast day activities, sponsoring bullfights for Saint Michael, for example, until 1722. Budgetary restrictions made continuing the tradition impossible, but this does not necessarily reflect a decrease in the importance of the event.[33] After all, financial considerations forced councilmen to cut other expenses, discontinuing bullfights for new *alcaldes mayores* and elections of *alcaldes ordinarios* as well. Councilmen continued to commission fireworks and decorate the municipal palace with luminaries to commemorate the event. In 1732, to mark the 200-year anniversary of the founding of the city of Puebla, councilmen decided to hold bullfights over the course of three days in the main plaza. Although the cabildo's deficit had forced them to discontinue the custom for a number of years, they felt it was

[30] This resonates with how when taking office, *alcaldes mayores* walked through towns with their staffs of office, thus marking the boundaries of their jurisdictions. See Helen Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns, 1516-1700* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), p. 138
[31] López de Villaseñor, *Cartilla Vieja*, p. 223.
[32] *Ibid*., pp. 223-225
[33] Hugo Leicht, *Las calles de Puebla* (Puebla: Junta de Mejoramiento Moral, Cívico y Material del Municipio de Puebla, 1986; first published 1934), p. 473.

important to celebrate Puebla's anniversary with the most "festive demonstrations of happiness" possible.[34]

One aspect of the feast day celebration specifically highlighted the councilmen's role as patriarchs. In the sixteenth century, the conquistador Manuel de Miranda Palomeque established a pious works fund through the cathedral chapter; the interest would then be used to provide dowries for four Spanish or Spanish-Creole girls wishing to marry or enter convents. The cabildo held a yearly raffle to select two women to benefit from the dowry and the cathedral chapter did the same. During a special meeting held every September, a boy drew two names from a vessel and those selected received the dowry. The councilmen who nominated the women acted as their godfathers, or *padrinos*. In a procession held on the feast of Saint Michael, the veiled novitiates processed alongside their godfathers highlighting the beneficence of the cabildo.[35]

In 1752, the *maestrescuela* of Puebla's cathedral asked councilmen to make Saint John the Baptist a patron of the city and established a fund covering the full cost of the annual feast day, thereby freeing the cabildo from subsidizing the event with the typical donation of 25 pesos. He simply asked the government to include the saint in its pantheon of patrons and asked that councilmen "authorize" the annual feast day with their presence. Again, in an acknowledgement of the councilmen's role as patriarchs of the community, ten years earlier he had established a fund so that members could elect

[34] Actas, 25 August 1732, AMP-BNAH, AC 41, folio 391r-391v.
[35] In 1710, the cathedral chapter lost part of the principal of loans taken from the fund and the chapter and cabildo had to temporarily cease raffling dowries. In 1721, however, the practice resumed with the cathedral and cabildo selecting one orphan a piece. See Actas, 7 August 1721, AMP-BNAH, AC 40, folios 334v-335v.

one woman each year to receive a dowry; as with the feast day of Saint Michael, the councilman who nominated the winner would process with her on the feast day.[36]

Interestingly, for both dowry raffles the pious works funds stipulated that the women had to be "orphans," even though their parents could be "alive." The cabildo meetings designated for the election were always referred to as the "raffle of orphan girls." In 1727, the *regidor* José de Urosa y Barcena nominated his granddaughter, suggesting that the women were not always without family. Urosa y Barcena, however, suffered from chronic debt and it is therefore plausible that his 11 year old granddaughter indeed lacked the 3,000 pesos needed to enter one of Puebla's convents.[37]

It may have been customary parlance to refer to women without financial support as "orphans," but regardless, the term also characterized chapter members and councilmen as patriarchs. They saw themselves as the fathers of their communities and the processions on both feast days characterized councilmen as paternal benefactors; the women who won the raffles processed wearing veils and holding candles, escorted proudly by their sponsors. The councilman and cathedral chapter members who nominated these brides (or in the case of women entering convents, "brides of Christ") in effect gave them away in holy matrimony. Year after year, the two ceremonies reminded *poblanos* of the cabildo's patriarchal role.

Other ceremonial components underscored the cabildo's role as leaders. During processions, the cabildo used exploding fireworks to emphasize its position as head of the

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[36] Actas, 17 June 1752, AMP-BNAH, AC 47, folio 509r-509v; Mariano Enciso y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles* (Puebla de los Ángeles: Oficina de Don Pedro de la Rosa, 1787), p. 82.

[37] Actas, 20 September 1727, AMP-BNAH, AC 40, folio 421r; Actas, 26 September 1727, AMP-BNAH, AC 40, folio 423v.

community. For Corpus Christi processions, master craftsmen ignited fireworks as councilmen entered and exited the cathedral. On Corpus Christi 1736, the master of fireworks Antonio Gómez shot off three dozen *cámaras* (single explosions reminiscent of canon fire) as the cabildo entered the cathedral on the eve of the feast day and another three dozen as it departed after all three masses.[38] Fireworks, in effect, spotlighted councilmen and highlighted their authority.

Elaborate rituals affirmed the corporate consciousness of councilmen and emphasized their role as community guardians. Yet, for the city's *regidores*, public ritual also reinforced a sense of class consciousness, or of belonging to the ranks of the "*caballeros republicanos*" – the city's "republican gentlemen." During religious ceremonies, the cabildo always sat on benches on the right side of the church and to their immediate left, on the other side of the aisle, the corporation had a special bench for the *alcaldes ordinarios* and other "leading gentlemen," whom they periodically chose to share the honor of sitting with "the city."[39] For all monarchical rituals, entrances of viceroys, and religious holidays like Corpus Christi and Good Friday, the cabildo made sure to invite the city's leading gentlemen to process with them.[40] This was standard practice in cities throughout the empire. The seventeenth-century ordinances of the cabildo of Mexico City, for example, specified that for important processions, "known gentlemen" should be invited to incorporate themselves within the ranks of the cabildo.[41]

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[38] Para los gastos de los fuegos para Corpus Christi, 1736, AMP, CP 4, folio 197r.
[39] See, for example, Actas, 28 January 1767, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folios 163v-164r.
[40] These invitations usually cost the city 6 pesos. See, for example, Gastos hechos por el patrón de fiestas, 31 December 1753, AMP, CP 8, folios 124r-125r.
[41] Francisco de Gatica Zerda, *Ordenanças de la Muy Noble, y Muy Leal Ciudad de Mexico, Cabeça de los Reynos de la Nueva-España* (Mexico: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1683), folio 8r.

Councilmen frequently held private parties for their families and associates which coincided with public ceremonies. On these special occasions, *regidores* always sent handwritten or printed invitations to members of the local elite. In 1736 on the eve of Corpus Christi, the cabildo held a party for councilmen and members of the local elite with flavored water, white wine, sandwiches, and cookies. Together, the select partook of the treats while enjoying fireworks sponsored by the cabildo. After Corpus Christi, invited guests gathered together once again to snack, drink and discuss the success of that year's spectacle. In 1741, the cabildo again held a pre-ceremony gathering, but by 1742 the Crown had prohibited the use of municipal funds for private functions during Corpus Christi and its octave. [42] Until 1776, however, refreshments constituted a central element in the cabildo's ceremonial culture. By compartmentalizing private moments within public functions, the cabildo created opportunities for affirming its solidarity with the city's broader elite.[43]

Oath ceremonies, in particular, reinforced cohesion between the cabildo and Puebla's wealthy citizens. The guidelines for succession ceremonies evolved slowly over time, and although people generally understood that Spanish kings had a divine right to rule, the succession incorporated elements of the medieval election ritual. When members of Puebla's elite paraded the royal standard through the streets, they recalled the medieval practice of *alzando pendones*, when nobles elected the monarch by raising their pendants. For the day of the *jura*, councilmen asked the city's leading families to hang

[42] Por los gastos de Corpus Christi, 1741, AMP, CP 5, folio 116v; Actas, 5 May 1742, AMP-BNAH, AC 44, folio 418v.
[43] Para el día y víspera de San Miguel, 1740, AMP, CP 5, folio 110r-110v.

pendants from their balconies. As the oath ceremony procession moved through the streets the cabildo, accompanied by the city's elite, glimpsed pendants bearing their family crests. While representing loyalty to the monarch, the pendants probably served as a source of pride for Puebla's so-called nobility who, although primarily untitled, could claim inclusion in the highest echelons of society and even "elect" the king.[44]

The elite of Puebla bore a collective responsibility to honor the king, and this obligation transferred over to the viceroy, the monarch's primary minister in the colonies. As with all important ceremonies, for the triumphal entrance of a viceroy, the city's leading gentlemen participated in public processions and attended mass. They also, however, attended private functions such as feasts and, later in the century, balls. Yet, elites throughout the city also had concrete responsibilities in the planning of the viceregal visit; whether a member of an elite family sat on the cabildo or not, wealthy *poblanos* were duty bound to lend tapestries, crystal, and silverware for use in the viceregal palace. The cabildo then hired squadrons of Indians to guard the wares during the time they remained in the palace. For the entrance of the Marquis of Cruillas in 1760, eight elite families lent mirrors to decorate the palace, while others lent oil lamps and dishes.[45]

In addition to using ceremonies to cement alliances with members of the *poblano* elite, ceremonies also helped solidify relationships between Puebla's aldermen and those of the capital. When representatives of the cabildo visited court on diplomatic missions,

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[44] The cabildo minutes provide a list of the gentlemen invited to participate in the "election" procession for Philip V. Memoria del convite de los caballeros, 3 April 1701, AMP, AC 34, folios 640v-642r.
[45] Expenditure for the renovation and adornment of the viceregal palace for the Marquis of Cruillas, 1760, AMP, CP 9, folios 128r-131r.

the capital's municipal government treated the men like arriving dignitaries. On 21 June 1722, for example, a group of councilmen and Puebla's mace bearers traveled to Mexico City to congratulate the viceroy on the recent betrothal of Prince Luis I. A couple of days later, two *regidores* from Mexico's cabildo welcomed the councilmen under their city's maces and in coaches with extra long reins, a distinction reserved only for the most esteemed visitors. That afternoon, when the poblanos went to congratulate the viceroy, the *alcalde mayor* and cabildo of Mexico escorted them, thus underscoring publicly the solidarity of New Spain's elite. Before departing for Puebla, the party visited the cabildo in its meeting chamber taking their seats on both sides of *alcalde mayor*. They then thanked the government of Mexico City for its attentiveness and courtesy.[46] Members of both cabildos took pains to treat each other as equals; they shared a sense of belonging to a community that extended beyond their respective cabildos to that of the colonial elite.

Both cabildos had an agreement to court each other when deputies visited their respective cities, but in 1734, the cabildo of Mexico City failed in its urbanity and the complaints issued by poblanos reveals the extent to which councilmen valued the norms that governed ceremonial courtesy. Councilmen Nicolás de Castro and José de Gainza traveled to the capital to congratulate Archbishop Juan Antonio Vizarrón for his promotion to the position of viceroy. The *alcalde mayor* of Mexico did not pay a formal visit to the *regidores* of Puebla and did not offer to have the cabildo escort the men to the palace to offer their congratulations to the new viceroy. According to Castro and Gainza, the cabildos had an agreement to maintain "mutual correspondence," or

[46] Actas, 13 July 1722, AMP-BNAH, AC 40, folios 545r-546v.

reciprocity, during formal visits. They argued that by failing to pay an "urbane visit," the *alcalde mayor* neglected to observe one of the basic tenets of the political culture; "foreign" visitors "naked," or without the backing of their own cabildos, should be treated as representatives of their cities. Puebla's *regidores* stated that this act revealed the councilmen of Mexico's feelings of "superiority," instead of a sense of parity with their colleagues in Puebla.

The *alcalde mayor*, arguing that this agreement had never been set down in writing, failed to recognize the role of custom in shaping ceremonial etiquette. In response, the councilmen of Puebla delayed in going to see the Archbishop, expecting that the *alcalde mayor* and *regidores* of Mexico would come to their senses and accompany them to the viceregal palace. When the deputies of Puebla finally congratulated the archbishop, they informed him regarding what had occurred and, illustrative of the importance of courtesies of parity, the archbishop backed their complaint. According to Castro and Gainza, leading gentlemen and even some of Mexico City's councilmen also took Puebla's side against the capital's *alcalde mayor*.[47]

Eventually the cabildos of Mexico City and Puebla resolved their differences and resumed public demonstrations of solidarity. When a viceroy arrived in Puebla, the municipal government of the capital sent representatives to Puebla to welcome him. While planning the elaborate entrance ceremony and fêting of the viceregal party, the cabildo made sure to designate two councilmen to welcome the capital's councilmen.[48] In 1746, following the entrance of the Marquis of Horcasitas, the cabildo of Mexico City

[47] Actas, 19 May 1734, AMP-BNAH, AC 43, folios 100r-101v.
[48] See, for example, Actas, 26 September 1739, AMP-BNAH, AC 44, folio 41v.

sent Puebla's *regidores* a letter thanking them for their hospitality during the viceregal visit. In language revealing of the union that the councilmen saw between themselves as members of the colonial elite, the *regidores* expressed their gratitude and their desire to "conserve the union with such tight ties to make impossible the most minimal form of separation."[49]

The cabildos of Mexico and Puebla maintained mutual correspondence, but councilmen also sought to replicate the format of the capital's many ceremonies. In this way, councilmen expressed their membership within the world of the Atlantic elite. Provincial cabildos consciously engaged in a process of cultural mimesis, seeking to imitate the public ceremonies of greater cities. In 1720, for example, the *regidores* of Chihuahua asked for advice on how to conduct royal ceremony from their colleagues in Guadalajara.[50] As the leaders of New Spain's "second city," Puebla's councilmen always looked to the capital or the metropole. When in 1658 the cabildo celebrated the birth of Prince Charles II with a *máscara*, aldermen took pains to imitate the celebrations held in Mexico City.[51] Eighty years later, the cabildo celebrated the patronage of the Virgin of Guadalupe and, again, did so in imitation of what had already been conducted in Mexico City. The capital, therefore, set the standard for cities like Puebla, and Puebla, in turn, set

[49] Actas, 19 July 1746, AMP, AC 46, folio 269r; expresses their gratitude "y la tendrá VSS del esmero con que esta Nov. Ciudad procura desempeñarse y solicita que se conserve la unión en tan estrecho vínculo que no admita leve separación."
[50] Cheryl English Martin, *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico: Chihuaha in the Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 103.
[51] Antonio Gómez Carvallo, *Máscara que la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de la Puebla de la Nueva España hizo al feliz nacimiento del Principe Nuestro Señor D. Phelipe Prospero, que Dios guarde, à quinze de Octubre de 1658* (Mexico City: Agustín de Santistevan, y Francisco Lupercio, 1658); Actas, 22 April 1738, AMP-BNAH, AC 43, folio 406r.

the standard for smaller cities like Santiago de Querétaro.[52] For ceremonies reserved for members of the local elite, councilmen displayed care in replicating their metropolitan counterparts. Not wishing to be undone by the capital, in 1707, while discussing proper protocol for the funerals of *regidores*, the cabildo decided to investigate how the ceremonies were conducted in Mexico City.[53]

Directly or indirectly, Mexico City set the standard for ceremonies throughout the colony. Before enacting celebrations in honor of the royal family, Puebla waited until the capital concluded its own commemorations. In 1708, after receiving word of the birth of crown prince Luis I, the *alcalde mayor* instructed councilmen to start making plans under the condition that nothing be executed until the "Imperial City of Mexico, head of these kingdoms of New Spain, has made its [own] demonstrations of loyalty."[54] In 1711, the Bourbon Crown ordered cities to hold thanksgiving masses to mark Spain's success in driving the occupying forces of the Austrian Alliance out of Madrid. The viceroy specifically ordered the cabildo of Puebla not to "anticipate the Imperial City of Mexico" in its celebrations, but the cathedral chapter decided to go ahead with the planning of their part of the event. The cabildo, in turn, reported on chapter members to the viceroy.[55]

Puebla, however, also tried to meet the standards set by Madrid's court ceremonies. By mimicking particularities of court ceremony, Puebla's councilmen

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[52] In 1726, the cabildo of Santiago de Querétaro asked the cabildo of Puebla for advice on how to conduct its public ceremonies. See Testimonio relativo a los privilegios de esta Nobilísima Ciudad y demás de lo que expresa, 7 February 1726, AMP, RC 5, folios 571r-588r.
[53] Actas, (day not specified) October 1707, AMP, AC 35, folios 558r-559r.
[54] Actas, 3 January 1708, AMP, AC 36, folios 14v-15v; "no se ejecute cosa alguna hasta que la imperial Ciudad de México cabeza de estos reinos de Nueva España aya hecho las demostraciones de su lealtad."
[55] Actas, 3 July 1711, AMP-BNAH, AC 36, folios 380r-382r.

claimed their place within the imperial world of the elite. As representatives of the monarch, they defended all the markers of distinction that separated them from less-distinguished colonial subjects. As in all of Spanish America's "principal cities," councilmen walked in processions under the maces that symbolized the cabildo's authority. Inside churches, *regidores* always sat on an especially designated bench at the right side of the altar, the most prestigious wing of the church. Colonial law specified that cabildo members should have benches reserved exclusively for their use during public functions. Anyone who violated the law by sitting on the cabildo's bench could be fined up to 100 pesos.[56]

In 1724, during a planning meeting for the oath ceremony in honor of Luis I, the acting president of the cabildo proudly stated that he had the *Gazeta* of Madrid (the Crown's official newspaper) detailing how the court celebrated the succession. The cabildo voted to follow the account to the best of their abilities, particularly where their individual costuming was concerned. Like the elite of the imperial court, councilmen wore black velvet jackets, pants, and capes**,** hats with feathers, emeralds, rubies, and diamonds.[57] In court ceremonies in Madrid, elites decorated their ceremonial clothing, usually cut from velvet or silk, with gold and silver braiding, or black or white lacework. They also incorporated authentic and/or costume gems into their costumes, such as diamonds and rubies. By 1723, the level of sumptuousness had gotten so out of hand that

[56] Spain, *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*; Book 3, Title 15, Law 73.
[57] Actas, 10 July 1724, AMP-BNAH, AC 40, folio 285r-285v.

Philip V prohibited the use of this type of finery during private functions in Madrid, and allowed it only for specific ceremonies that took place on horseback.[58]

Philip V's proscriptions elucidate what Madrid's elites customarily wore during elaborate court ceremonies, and in Puebla, city leaders imitated the elegant attire typical of these types of spectacles. In 1658, for the masquerade in honor of the birth of Prince Philip, mounted participants wore feathers in their hats and brightly colored clothing, while others donned resplendent silver cloth as part of their attire.[59] In 1701, the sixty-six gentlemen who participated in the cavalcade honoring Philip V's succession wore hats with feathers and large gem-stones on their chests.[60]

In 1723, Philip V also sanctioned against dressing lackeys in elegant attire during ceremonies.[61] Apparently, many *madrileños* had been doing so to publicize their obscene wealth and social superiority. In New World cities like Cuzco, Lima and Potosí, elites also engaged in this practice; as a reflection of their own social standing, urban elites made sure to dress their servants in the finest of cloth.[62] By the late seventeenth century, Dutch lace had become the rage among European courtiers and in 1701, for the oath ceremony in honor of Philip V the *alcalde mayor* of Puebla dressed his eight servants in

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[58] Philip V, *Pragmática sanción, que su Majestad Manda observar, sobre Trajes, y otras cosas* (Madrid: Juan Sanz, Portero de Cámara de su Majestad. y Impresor de su Real, y Supremo Consejo, 1723), unpaginated.
[59] Gómez Carvallo, *Máscara que la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de la Puebla de la Nueva España hizo al feliz nacimiento del Principe*, unpaginated.
[60] Anomymous, *Noticia de la Real aclamacion, que debió hacer, é hizo la muy noble, y muy leal Ciudad de los Angeles en la Jura de la Cesarea, y Catholica Magestad del Señor D. Phelipe V* (Puebla: Imprenta de los Herederos del Capitán Juan de Villa Real, 1702), p. 4.
[61] Philip V, *Pragmática Sanción, que su Majestad Manda observar,* unpaginated.
[62] See, for example, descriptions of underlings' costumes in Rosa María Acosta de Arías Screiber, *Fiestas coloniales urbanas (Lima-Cuzco-Potosí)* (Lima: Otorongo, 1997).

lace from Holland. [63] By this time, English and French fashions had well-surpassed Spanish trends in popularity. So, in 1701, the cavalcade in honor of Philip V also included twenty lackeys dressed in green cloth imported from England.[64] Careful to avoid any appearance of provincialism, the *poblano* elite took great pains to remain on the cutting edge of fashion.

In 1723, Philip V prohibited members of court from riding in extravagantly decorated coaches during specific public ceremonies and like their counterparts in Madrid, Puebla's elite used luxurious coaches to declare their social primacy. On the morning of the *jura del rey* in 1701, Puebla's leading citizens processed through the streets in extravagantly adorned coaches. One of the *alcaldes ordinario's* coaches incorporated Venetian glass mirrors as windows. Other coaches had brocade interiors and adornments of flowers made of gold, provoking one observer to comment that such "vanity" could have easily been seen in the "greatest court of Europe."[65] Public ceremony, therefore, allowed poblano leaders to solidify connections with other members of the cabildo, the city's privileged, and the cabildo of Mexico City, while at the same time, providing a link to the trans-Atlantic world of the elite. By mimicking court

[63] James Laver, ed. *Costume of the Western World: Fashions of the Renaissance in England, France, Spain and Holland* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 191; Anonymous, *Noticia de la real aclamacion,*p. 4.
[64] Anonymous, *Noticia de la real aclamacion,*p. 8.
[65] Ambrosio Francisco de Montoya y Cárdenas Ponce de León, *Diseño festivo del amor, obstentativa muestra de la lealtad, acclamacion alegre Con que la muy noble, Augusta Imperial Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles en el dia diez de Abril del Año de 1701* (Puebla: Herederos del Capitan Juan de Villa Real, 1702), pp. 14-15.

customs, provincial elites created a sense of proximity to the king. They, in effect, asserted their inclusion within the highest echelons of power.[66]

Ritual proved useful to councilmen. It helped them bolster their public image and identify with a community of local, colonial, and imperial elites. Ceremony, however, also had practical political benefits, as it helped defuse tension at the local level. The oath ceremony for Philip V and the funerary honor for Charles II in 1701 illustrate the utility of ritual for maintaining the authority of local leaders during moments of potentially destabilizing change.

In 1699, the Crown installed a new, zealously reform-minded *alcalde mayor*, Juan José de Veytia y Linaje, who would oversee the cabildo until his death in 1722. As the cabildo scrambled to accommodate to the sweeping changes instituted by the *alcalde mayor*, poblanos dealt with an unprecedented natural catastrophe. Between 1691 and 1696, central Mexico suffered a series of poor harvests. Although no figures exist for the price of corn in Puebla during these years, Enrique Florescano has argued that during periods of crisis, the price of corn in Mexican cities increased by 100 percent to as much as 300 percent when compared to the lowest price in good years.[67] By 1696 the agricultural crisis had also affected the price of other food products in Puebla: beef and lamb doubled in price, eggs cost more than three times the usual price, and lard eight times more. Costly food meant many people ate less, exacerbating the general weakness of the region's population and the inability of many to survive the onslaught of measles

[66] See Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford:Blackwell, 1983).
[67] Enrique Florescano, *Origen y desarrollo de los problemas agrarios de México, 1500-1821*, rev. ed. (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 1976; first published 1971), p. 74.

in 1692 and the "fevers" of 1695.[68] While the population struggled to survive, landholding councilmen profited from the shortage of wheat and corn by allowing rampant speculation in grain prices. As if hunger and pestilence were not enough, the population also had to contend with a water shortage caused by the cabildo's neglecting to repair the city's irrigation system.[69] Because *regidores* enjoyed their positions for life, or until the time in which they chose to renounce in favor of a family member or friend, the people had little choice but to endure the corruption and inefficiency of their local ministers.[70]

While under attack by the *alcalde mayor* and as the city struggled to recuperate from the debilitating epidemics and famines of the 1690s, the cabildo organized the oath ceremony for Philip V. In 1701, political tension plagued the cabildo. Only two years before, some *regidores* tried to instigate rebellion against the *alcalde mayor*, who at that time served as a royal sale's tax collector. Only four years later, the *alcalde mayor* suffered a near successful assassination attempt outside Cholula. According to historian Gustavo Alfaro, this caused him to labor under the justifiable fear of popular uprisings.[71]

Given the volatility of the situation, local leaders may have sought to employ the *jura del rey* to remind the populace of the consequences of disloyalty. Through the oath

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[68] Relación jurada dada por el Señor Don Miguel Vásquez Mellado de los gastos hechos en el hospedaje del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Montezuma in Actas, 17 February 1698, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folio 269v. Gustavo Rafael Alfaro Ramírez, "La lucha por el control del gobierno urbano en la época colonial (Master's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998), pp. 141, 138-39. Referring only to the end of the first epidemic in 1692, chronicler Juan de Villa Sánchez stated that "thousands" of poblanos died. Villa Sánchez and de la Peña, *Puebla sagrada y profana*, p. 39.

[69] Alfaro Ramírez, "La lucha por el control," pp. 140-41, 145-46.

[70] For a detailed discussion of the purchasing of Puebla's cabildo positions from the Crown and the renouncing in favor of family members or associates, see Gustavo Rafael Alfaro Ramírez, "El reclutamiento oligárquico en el cabildo de la Puebla de los Ángeles, 1665-1765" (Licenciatura thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1995).

[71] Alfaro Ramírez, "La lucha por el control," pp. 186-187.

ceremony, local leaders worked to condense messages about the loyalty due to the king and to local government. Indeed, the platform employed military symbolism to show that Philip V, the contested Bourbon successor to the Hapsburg throne, would defeat all rivals. Yet, the symbolism could easily have been interpreted as bearing a dual message, declaring that the king's local representatives would enforce his will within the city. The conspicuous presence of armed militiamen surely helped bring this message home. In 1701, Puebla had a company of infantrymen and a company of cavalrymen, as well as a militia of *pardos*. Although certainly needed to prevent disorder during the fiesta itself, the presence of the militia may have also reminded the populace of the futility of uprising.

According to official testimonies, the *jura* electrified the city's diverse audience and in their excitement, the populace roared approval for the representatives of the king. Whether or not the people understood the *regidores* as deserving of the same degree of approval due the king, councilmen certainly sought to borrow and benefit from the legitimacy of the monarch. The royal standard bearer, the Marquis of Altamira, played a starring role in the ceremony and also hosted an open house on the eve of the event. One official description claimed the people joyfully competed to catch the coins after the declaration of loyalty, and "in confused echoes [they] gave acclamations to our King and Lord, and others to the magnificence of the Lord Marquis . . . "[72] As people enjoyed the street musicians who accompanied the cabildo and a crackling of fireworks on the night of the *jura*, organizers reminded the audience that this feast of the senses came from

[72] Anonymous, *Noticia de la real acclamacion*, p. C4.

Puebla's royal representatives, possibly serving to dim from memory -- at least temporarily -- many recent disappointments.

As people savored sweets, listened to choirs of musicians, and admired such luxury items as rugs from Cairo and chairs from Moscow in the standard bearer's home, Altamira reminded the populace of the wealth and authority of Puebla's local leaders.[73] By briefly opening his private residence for entertainment, the *alférez* managed to assert that an intimate relationship existed between the king and his ministers. As people absorbed the ostentation in the main salon on the day of the oath, they could not have avoided noticing its centerpiece: a throne resting on a tapestry that had once belonged to Philip IV. Atop the throne rested the standard, the same one used since the sixteenth century for royal ceremony.[74] Cabildo members tried to appropriate and benefit from the legitimacy of the king by blurring the line between his authority and theirs. Elaborate festivities like the *jura del rey* provided the perfect occasion to do this because, in the words of one anthropologist, "the more excited people become . . . the less finely tuned are the distinctions they make in categorizing people."[75]

Throughout the eighteenth century, large-scale spectacles continued to act as a kind of "safety valve" for pent up frustrations. In the early eighteenth century, many merchants stopped conducting business in Puebla and one chronicler pinpointed 1710 as the year in which the economy of Puebla began its official decline.[76] Poverty and mass

[73] Montoya y Cárdenas Ponce de León, *Diseño festivo*, folio 13r.
[74] Anonymous, *Noticia de la real acclamacion*, pp. A7-A8.
[75] David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 82.
[76] Joseph Antonio de Villa-Señor y Sánchez, *Theatro americano, descripción general de los reynos de la Nueva-España, y sus jurisdicciones* (Mexico City: Imprenta de la Viuda de D. Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1746), p. 242.

unemployment proved standard in the eighteenth century, causing some to describe this once thriving metropolis in pathetic terms. Writing in 1746, chronicler Juan Villa Sánchez described commerce as the blood that feeds the veins and capillaries of the body politic. The lack of commerce, and the fact that by the mid eighteenth century most merchant families had lost their fortunes, provoked him to characterize the city as diseased. He found evidence for this in the multitude of poor people barely surviving, despite the fact that food remained relatively cheap.[77] The plethora of cabildo-sponsored ceremonies likely served as a needed respite from the harsh realities of colonial life. In his survey of Spanish American fiestas, Ángel López Cantos concurred that these events provided a needed break from constant hunger, endemic disease, and crushing labor demands.[78]

Some religious rituals organized by the cabildo served to directly alleviate hardships inherent to colonial life. Rogations, or processions of supplication, during times of epidemic and famine provided an obvious form of amelioration, but the cabildo also participated in annual rituals intended to ward off disease. For example, councilmen participated annually in a procession in honor of Saint Sebastian, the patron against pestilence. Although large catastrophes like the 1736 *matzahuatl,* or typhus, epidemic, devastated the city, periodic waves of disease proved a constant threat.[79]

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[77] Villa Sánchez and de la Peña, *Puebla sagrada y profana,* p. 46.
[78] Ángel López Cantos, *Juegos, fiestas y diversiones en la América Española* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992), p. 19.
[79] Less dramatic waves of disease can only be gleaned from occasional mentions in the minutes. In 1707, for example, a wave of typhus hit, causing councilmen to become fearful and depressed. See Actas, 13 August 1707, AMP, AC 35, folio 528r.

Through ritual, councilmen alleviated some anxiety, and *poblanos*, moreover, expected *regidores* to take proactive measures during particularly harsh epidemics. In 1733, for example, the cabildo organized a procession of Jesus the Nazarene to combat the spread of an unspecified, but apparently devastating illness.[80] In May 1737, during the *matlazahuatl*, several councilmen found written requests affixed to their front doors begging the cabildo to organize a procession of supplication for Saint Joseph.[81] Poblanos, therefore, expected cabildo members to use their control over ritual for the betterment of the community. Councilmen, in turn, strengthened their positions by organizing rituals of appeasement.

Several scholars have suggested that ceremonies worked to distract people from hardship and release frustrations that could have been directed against the colonial system.[82] Given the illiteracy of the majority of the spectators, the effectiveness of ritual for preserving the status quo is difficult, if not impossible, to gage. One can point mainly to negative evidence, or the relative lack of uprisings in cities (the central locations for large-scale public spectacles like entrances and *juras*) when compared to the frequency of disturbances in the countryside.[83]

What is clear, however, is that colonial bureaucrats regarded ceremonies as an effective safety-salve for pent up frustrations. In his *Política para corregidores*,

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[80] Actas, 28 June 1733, AMP-BNAH, AC 43, folios 42v-43r.
[81] Actas, 7 May 1737, AMP-BNAH, AC 43, folio 321r.
[82] Antonio Bonet Correa, "La fiesta barroca como práctica del poder," in *El Arte Efímero en el mundo hispánico* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, UNAM, 1983), p. 24; Rafael Ramos Sosa, *Arte festivo en Lima virreinal (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 1992), pp. 18-19.
[83] Eric Van Young notes the relative stability of the city compared to the countryside in the last decades of the colonial period. See "Islands in the Storm: Quiet Cities and Violent Countrysides in the Mexican Independence Era," *Past and Present* 118 (1988), pp. 130-155

sixteenth-century political theorist Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla pointed to classical authors such as Seneca, Cicero, and Aristotle, as well as church fathers like Saint Augustine, who all approved of fiestas. He felt that by providing festive diversions, local leaders could help the local population forget their "sadness" and instead, develop a sense of gratitude toward local officials.[84]

A contextual reading of spectacles like the 1701 *jura* and a sampling of the rogations organized by councilmen illuminate the possible ways that Puebla's struggling population interpreted ceremonial symbolism. Later in the century, councilmen overtly expressed a belief in the "safety-valve" function of ceremonies. Although mainly outside the realm of this study, theater constituted an important element of eighteenth-century celebrations. The cabildo paid for the erection of a new theater in the 1750s, and then rented it out to specific companies who marked the cabildo's ceremonial occasions with theatrical productions. In the 1760s, the church, under the direction of Bishop Francisco Fabián y Fuero, criticized the morality of the theater. Councilman Antonio Bacilio Arteaga y Solórzano, however, defended it, arguing that while people are watching a production, they are not insulting each other, provoking fights, or engaging in other forms of disorderly conduct.[85] On 18 May 1770, as the cabildo struggled to find a company willing to take on the economic risk of renting out the theater, councilmen pondered whether a lack of theatrical productions would provoke the "restlessness" of the people.

[84] Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla, *Política para corregidores,* Vol. 2, (Madrid, N.P., 1759), pp. 676-677.
[85] Actas, 18 October 1768, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 380r.

In order to prevent what was, in their minds, a likely reaction, councilmen decided to not charge rent and thereby entice a company to put on productions.[86]

Public rituals increased the authority of the cabildo in a variety of ways: casting councilmen as representatives of the king and guardians of the city, strengthening corporate and class consciousness, and serving to redirect the public's frustrations while encouraging loyalty to local government. Pubic rituals, however, also fostered a sense of community. While clearly demarcating leaders from lesser poblanos, public rituals also incorporated non-elites. Many elaborate commemorations not only provided space for incorporating different groups, but *required* the participation of subjects from the full spectrum of Puebla's ethnically and socially heterogeneous population. Spanish American ceremonies reflected hierarchical divisions based on race and class, codified in written law, but reaffirmed, validated, and sometimes contested during public performances.[87] In Puebla, as elsewhere in the empire, councilmen made a concerted effort to integrate people, however unequally, into public performances. These reflected the veritable "pecking order" of colonial society.[88]

In both Mexico City and Puebla, overtly religious processions, such as Corpus Christi, depended on the participation of all of Puebla's social groups. Despite attention to hierarchy, most religious processions performed a spiritually leveling function. After

[86] Actas, 18 May 1770, AMP-BNAH, AC 53, folio 42r-42v.
[87] López Cantos, *Juegos, fiestas y diversiones en la América Española*, p. 20.
[88] Mark A. Burkholder, "Honor and Honors in Colonial Spanish America," in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Spanish America*, ed. Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), p. 29. During Corpus Christi in Mexico City, for example, cathedral chapter members walked closest to the Eucharist and select members of the secular cabildo carried the staffs of the pallium. See Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies: Corpus Christi in Colonial Mexico City," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*, ed. William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1994), pp. 1-26.

all, God graced and judged all Catholics, regardless of race or class. But even within the spiritual body of the Church, all were not equal. The social and political composition of the colony mirrored the spiritual body of Christ, and to paraphrase the famous passage from *Romans*, Christians made up one body with many members, but not all members had the same or equal function.[89] Accordingly, Corpus Christi spotlighted the unity of Puebla's Catholics, but also the subordination of particular groups. As art historian Carolyn Dean has argued for seventeenth-century Cuzco, the procession, which celebrated Christ's triumph over sin, by extension, also celebrated the Spanish Crown's triumph over non-Christian people. In order to underscore this implicit function, Corpus Christi ceremonies showcased cultural difference by incorporating different groups into the procession wearing their traditional dress.[90] Regardless of enjoying the reputation as the "city of Spaniards," Puebla had a sizeable indigenous population which councilmen sought actively to include in the Corpus festivities. As in Mexico City, Native Americans built elaborate *sombras*, or flowered arches, for the processional route. Every year, the cabildo paid indigenous governors 60 pesos for the Indians' labor and gathered squadrons of native dancers to perform during the procession.[91]

While the ceremony incorporated all social groups, it did so on unequal terms. Indeed, more than provide a reflection of Puebla's plebeian population, the ceremony sought to *represent* – in exaggerated form – colonization and imperialism. Indigenous people performed in the ceremonies, but not as themselves, or as the residents of the

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[89] See Romans 12:4-5.
[90] Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 1.
[91] See, for example, Cuenta de propios, 1708, AMP, CP 1, folio 62v.

barrios of Analco or Saint Sebastian, but as "conquered Indians" in the abstract. In Puebla, as in other Spanish cities, the procession incorporated *cabezudos,* papier-mâché dolls with oversized heads. Squadrons of Indians danced around wearing these heads, grossly painted and elaborately dressed to represent Indian women as a conquered group. Others donned heads representing Spanish, African, and Moorish women. Councilmen took great care with these dolls, periodically paying artisans to retouch them and wig makers to repair and style their hair.[92]

There are few recorded instances of Puebla's indigenous population expressing their own cultural autonomy. Instead, ceremonies glorified conquest and subjugation. For the most part, public spectacle worked to create a sense of solidarity, but organizers also acknowledged the inequality inherent in colonialism. In the seventeenth century, participants sometimes reenacted episodes from the conquest of the Puebla region. In this way, organizers reminded all of Spain's military dominance, but by harkening back to the distant past, avoided addressing the state of contemporary Native Americans. Just as mock battles became standard elements of European court ceremony during the Renaissance, in the New World, mock battles representing Moors verses Christians became exceedingly popular. In 1649, the celebrations in honor of the inauguration of the cathedral of Puebla also incorporated mock battles of Moors verses Christians, thus framing colonialism as a battle against religious heterodoxy. Yet, the ceremonies also

[92] Por los gastos de Corpus Christi, 1741, AMP, CP 5, folio 116r-116v.

included jousts between Spaniards and Indians, with natives participating as rivals from "various nations" and wearing furs and feathers to underscore their otherness.[93]

Organizers of Puebla's ceremonies sometimes had Indians play the part of Chichimecas, a standard component of many public spectacles throughout the colony. In 1640, the elite and Indians of Puebla initiated the viceregal entrance of the Duke of Escalona with a mock battle. Natives built a castle and fought Spanish "conquistadors" while dressed as Chichimecas.[94] In 1708, for a masquerade in honor of the birth of Prince Luis I, the cabildo sent representatives to speak with Puebla's indigenous governor, who oversaw a parallel cabildo within the city. They outlined their plans for Puebla's Indians to dress as Chichimecas, and to release tamed animals into the main plaza for the amusement of spectators. As noted in Chapter 2, having the Nahuatl-speaking Indians of Puebla portray the part of Chichimecas may have been intended to provide farcical amusement, but municipal leaders may have also intended the procession of Chichimecas to represent the triumph of the Spanish monarchy over the elements of disorder.[95] By the eighteenth century, the fiercely resistant Chichimecas had been all but absorbed by other indigenous groups. Even in this apparently creole celebration, however, the cabildo declared its European roots; in seventeenth-century Spain, Corpus Christi processions usually incorporated people dressed as "savages," not only to amuse

[93] Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Torneos, mascaradas y fiestas reales en la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Cultura, n.d.), p. 40.
[94] Nancy Fee, "La Entrada Angelopolitana: Ritual and Myth in the Viceregal Entry in Puebla de los Angeles," *The Americas* 52:3 (January 1996),"p. 288.
[95] To date, there is no comprehensive study of Puebla de los Ángeles' indigenous community. According to Fausto Marín Tamayo, Indians from Calpan, Huejotzingo, and the Mixteca also settled in the city's indigenous barrios. See *La división racial en Puebla de los Ángeles bajo el régimen colonial* (Puebla: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1960).

spectators, but also to refer to Christ's triumph over non-Christian peoples.[96] Historian William Taylor recognized the similarity between representations of Chichimecas and the pageants depicting Moors verses Christians, arguing that both "represented the triumph of Christianity over 'paganism' in America and warned settled Indians about barbarism and backsliding."[97]

The cabildo, for the most part, did not display overwhelming concern with how the Indians' participated in large-scale spectacles. For big events, like viceregal entrances or oath ceremonies, aldermen expected indigenous people to contribute in some way, but exactly how fell outside the jurisdiction of Puebla's municipal council. One scholar has pointed to lack of references of indigenous participation in Puebla's viceregal entrances as evidence for the poblano council's Eurocentric sensibility.[98] As far as interpretations go, this does not fall outside the realm of possibility; Puebla's aldermen were either Spanish or Spanish creoles, considered their city New Spain's "European" city par excellence, and tried to remain true to the dictates of European court ceremonial. Yet, a lack of indigenous participation was not specific to the ceremonies of Puebla. Anecdotal examples notwithstanding, Spanish American ceremonies did not generally celebrate indigenous culture, but sought to approximate European models.[99]

Nancy Fee has argued that during Puebla's seventeenth-century viceregal entrance ceremonies elites attempted to make invisible the presence of indigenous people, or at least to ignore them in the printed descriptions that were sent to Spain, concluding

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[96] Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, p. 12.
[97] Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, p. 275.
[98] Fee, "La Entrada Angelopolitana," pp. 283-320.
[99] Víctor Mínguez, *Los reyes distantes: imágenes del poder en el México virreinal* (Castelló de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 1995), p. 24.

that local elites held fast to the vision of Puebla as a European city.[100] A parallel phenomenon occurred in the viceregal capital of Peru, where Rafael Ramos Sosa has argued that elites emphasized their European identity in the festive art typical of Andalusia, downplaying the region's indigenous culture.[101] Like Lima, Puebla was founded in territory not previously inhabited by indigenous people, and may have constituted a sort of blank slate in the minds of the elite. Like the printed descriptions of Puebla's seventeenth-century viceregal entrances, that of the 1708 masquerade makes no mention of the city's indigenous and *casta* populations.[102]

The cabildo minutes, moreover, do not reflect that Puebla's Indians participated widely in public ceremonies. Rather, the minutes mainly describe indigenous people serving auxiliary functions, such as cleaning the streets, building flowered arches, or acting as street musicians. This contrasts with Mexico City, where scholars have noted some accounts of viceregal entrances, royal oath ceremonies, and Corpus Christi processions emphasizing native participation and the incorporation of indigenous iconography into works of ephemeral art.[103] Yet, the failure of Puebla's cabildo minutes to acknowledge indigenous participation may be more a consequence of the poblano elite's vision of "Spanishness," than a true reflection of indigenous participation. For the *jura del rey* for Luis I in 1724, for example, councilmen did not describe any plans for the city's indigenous community to hold their own particular celebrations. A petition by

[100] Fee, "La Entrada Angelopolitana," pp. 300-320.
[101] Ramos Sosa, *Arte festivo en Lima virreinal*, p. 24.
[102] See Antonio de Heredia, *Elogio genethliaco, festivo paen, que en un carro triumphal en las fiestas, con que esta Muy Noble, y Cesarea Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles, celebró el feliz nacimiento de nuestro pincipe, y señor D. Luis Felipe [. . .]* (Puebla: Imprenta de D. Joseph Pérez, 1709).
[103] See Alberro, "Barroquismo y criollismo en los recibimientos hechos a don Diego López Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla," pp. 443-460, and Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Mexico City*, p. 173, n. 19.

a master carpenter, however, does make mention of an independent indigenous ceremony. The carpenter had purchased the right to hold bullfights in the city's main plaza for three days with the understanding that he would keep the profits. On 13 October, he asked the council to extend the period for another three days, stating that he would begin holding bullfights on Tuesday the seventeenth and not the day before because he had heard that this was the day that the indigenous governor wanted to make his ceremonial entrance into the city.[104] This suggests that despite the possible Eurocentrism of the *poblano* elite, Puebla's indigenous leaders organized their own, independent public functions through their parallel governing body.

For royal oath ceremonies and funerary rites, however, councilmen made sure to include the region's native communities. Indians, like all royal subjects, needed to mourn the deceased king and praise the successor. Councilmen had included Indians in oath ceremonies since the sixteenth century. In 1557, following the cabildo's oath ceremony in honor of Philip II, the *caciques* from the surrounding villages of Tepeaca, Tecamachalco, Guatinchan, Tecali, Ocopetlayuca, Quechula, and Totomehuacan then took turns rising upon the platform to give their community's oath of loyalty to the king. In 1789, Puebla's councilmen codified into law indigenous participation in royal oath ceremonies; upon receiving news of an impending *jura* celebration, the *Tribunal de Fiel Ejecutoría* (the tribunal that enforced the quality and price of local goods), had to alert

[104] Petición de Antonio de Arteaga sobre que se concedan tres días más de toros, 13 October 1724, BNAH-AMP, AC 40, folio 310v.

the indigenous governor of Puebla and the leaders of the outlying villages so that they could come to the city and participate in the *jura del rey*.[105]

Later, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, surrounding indigenous communities held their own oaths of loyalty, while the indigenous leaders of Puebla participated in the city's *jura del rey*. The secular and indigenous cabildos processed from the municipal palace to the home of the royal standard bearer, and then back to the main plaza for the declaration of the oath. Indigenous leaders walked at the head of the line, followed by the secular cabildo. The ordering of the procession visually communicated the subordination of the indigenous population, who needed to be "watched over" by Spanish imperial officials.

While articulating the paternalism of the colonial system, the ceremonies also celebrated the indigenous republic as a semi-autonomous corporation. There are signs that Puebla's ethnically heterogeneous indigenous community expressed its cultural independence during royal ceremonies. In 1760, for example, the native governor led the first wing of the procession, surrounded by numerous Indians all wearing their "ancient" costumes and feathered headdresses.[106] Public ceremonies reaffirmed indigenous identity, either as subordinates of the Crown or as culturally independent and free-willed subjects. The cabildo's ceremonies, in effect, absorbed groups, while recognizing their distinct place within the colonial system.

Afro-Mexican subjects also participated in many of the cabildo's events, which again encouraged the reaffirmation of their social autonomy. In Puebla, militias became

[105] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 514v.
[106] Jura de Carlos III, 1760, AMP, Expedientes 205, Legajo 2417, folio 191r.

organized according to racial categories established by the Crown; that is, *moreno*, *pardo, mulato*, or white in composition.[107] On the eve and night of oath ceremonies, Afro-Mexican militiamen stood guard over the main plaza, and while a cross-section of individuals may have interpreted their presence as a warning against rebelling against the Crown, the city's free-colored population may have taken pride in the inclusion of the *pardo* regiment. By 1701, Afro-Mexicans claimed membership in various confraternities within the city, and guarded their right to participate in public processions. Some of the leading members of these confraternities were tailors, and colored militiamen came largely from this occupational category.[108]

In colonial New Spain, ethnicity, occupation, neighborhood residency, and confraternity membership often coalesced, and public ceremonies organized participants along these distinct lines. For example, Spaniards belonged to specific religious sodalities, such as the confraternities of Jesus of Nazarene, the confraternity of the Holy Cross, and the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary.[109] Ceremonies, like Corpus, the procession in honor of the Holy Burial of Christ on Good Friday, and royal funerary honors, required the participation of the city's confraternities. Councilmen, like all colonial subjects, could claim membership in several confraternities, but all were required to join the confraternity of the Holy Burial. When joining the cabildo, *alcaldes*

[107] Ben Vinson, *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-Colored Militia in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 18.
[108] El Señor Inquisidor Fiscal de este Santo Oficio contra Don Juan de Jauregui y Barcena, canónigo doctoral de la Santa Iglesia de la Puebla y provisor [. . .] por haber impedido que las cofradías de aquella ciudad asistiesen a la fiesta de San Pedro Mártir, 1699, AGN, Inquisición 711, Expediente 2, folios 108r-225v; Vinson, *Bearing Arms for His Majesty*, p. 110.
[109] El Señor Inquisidor Fiscal de este Santo Oficio contra Don Juan de Jauregui y Barcena, canónigo doctoral de la Santa Iglesia de la Puebla y provisor [. . .] por haber impedido que las cofradías de aquella ciudad asistiesen a la fiesta de San Pedro Mártir, 1699, AGN, Inquisición 711, Expediente 2, folios 108r-225v

mayores and *regidores* vowed to participate in the organization's Good Friday procession and "pass the plate," or collect alms, for the confraternity.[110] Some sodalities, such as that of Saint Joseph, included neighborhood residents who also worked in the same occupation; this confraternity comprised mainly weavers, who also resided within the parish.[111] By requiring the inclusion of various confraternities, city-wide ceremonies encouraged simultaneously a sense of exclusion and inclusion; all groups participated, but as separate entities with their own particular affiliations.[112]

Corporations acted semi-autonomously, much like the parts of the human body; Puebla's confraternities and guilds acted as members and while the king functioned as the head of the body politic at the imperial level, the cabildo acted in his stead within the city. The government's ceremonies, therefore, celebrated the unity of the body, while also acknowledging the difference of its parts. In this loose conglomeration of parts, the government actively searched out forces of unity. While religion served as the most obvious social adhesive, the cabildo also encouraged civic pride to bind residents.

Puebla provides a revealing case study, but elites throughout the colony demonstrated passionate devotion to their cities. Indeed, in the early modern period, patriotism was fundamentally an urban and regional phenomenon. With a hyperbole common to most chronicles, early modern elites eulogized their "*patria chicas*." Historian D. A. Brading has viewed this type of rhetoric as an incipient form of nationalism, citing, for example, the Franciscan chronicler Diego Murillo and his history

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[110] Actas, 1 January 1764, AMP-BNAH, AC 51, folio 256v.
[111] Cuenya Mateos, *Puebla de los Ángeles en tiempos de una peste colonial*, pp. 64-65.
[112] Actas, 19 May 1734, AMP-BNAH, AC 43, folios 100r-101v.

of Zaragoza (1616), who in turn referred to Hierocles to demonstrate the love of men for their hometowns. For Hiercoles and other urban patriots, "the *patria* is a second God and the first and principal parent" of its citizens, so that the debt to the city "is so old that it starts with nature and is more compelling . . . [like] that that which we owe to the parents who bore us."[113] In 1746, Juan Villa Sánchez described Puebla as the neck and throat of the colonial body politic, which held up the "head," or New Spain's capital.[114] The devotion which many felt for their hometowns then translated into an exaltation of its residents. In his *Theatro Angelopolitano* (1746), eighteenth-century chronicler Diego Antonio Bermúdez de Castro lauded Puebla's residents as one of the city's greatest "marvels." According to Bermúdez, people widely recognized the bravery, astuteness, and illustriousness of the poblanos and that far from being mere mortals, poblanos benefited from not five senses, but an astounding seven – "two more than other creatures."[115]

Like other urban chroniclers, those of colonial Puebla pointed to its public cults as evidence for its uniqueness. Juan Villa Sánchez's *Puebla sagrada y profana* (1746), Mariano Fernández Veytia de Echeverría's *Historia de la fundación de la ciudad de Puebla*, and Diego Antonio Bermúdez de Castro's *Theatro Angelopolitano* describe the city's most significant churches, convents, relics, and cults. Pedro López de Villaseñor's *Cartilla vieja de la Nobilísima Ciudad de Puebla* (1781) includes mini-histories of the city's patron saint days, and anecdotes regarding viceregal entrance celebrations,

[113] D. A. Brading, "Patriotism and the Nation in Colonial Spanish America," in *Constructing Collective Identities and Shaping Public Spheres: Latin American Paths*, ed. Luis Roniger and Maria Sznajder (Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 1998), p. 15.
[114] Villa Sánchez and de la Peña, *Puebla sagrada y profana*, p. 2.
[115] Bermúdez de Castro, *Theatro angelopolitano*, p. 72.

processions of supplication during times of crisis, and royal oath ceremonies as evidence of civic pride. In lengthy treatises, local sons discussed the relics of their city, its holy people, and spectacular examples of religious architecture to demonstrate the extreme piety of its people. Corresponding public ceremonies then served as crucial cultural reference points.

Cults of local holy people served as particularly useful vehicles for promoting civic consciousness, and in the seventeenth century, several contenders for sainthood lived and worshipped in Puebla. More than honoring empires or kingdoms, saints honored *patria chicas*. María de Jesús Tomellín (1582-1637) of the Convent of the Immaculate Conception drew many devotees during her lifetime and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the convent, cathedral chapter, and rich poblano followers helped promote her cause. As her cult grew in importance, poblanos came to regard María de Jesús as a source of civic pride. Between 1713 and 1715, the priors and prioresses of Puebla's religious houses wrote letters to the Vatican's Congregation of Rites to support her canonization. In a telling letter, the prioress of the Convent of Saint Claire asked the Vatican to "give Puebla her *criolla*, like Peru has Saint Rose," who the Vatican canonized in 1670 and promoted to patroness of the Empire in 1673.[116]

The cabildo, likewise, worked actively to promote María de Jesús' cause, engaging in a letter-writing campaign which spanned the eighteenth century. In 1696, the

[116] Antonio Rubial García, *La santidad controvertida: hagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados de Nueva España* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autonóma de México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999), pp. 166-199. For the influence of Saint Rose of Lima, see Fernando Iwasaki Cauti "Mujeres al borde de la perfección: Rosa de Santa María y las alumbradas de Lima," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 73:4 (1993), pp. 581-613. For the steps needed to promote the cause of a local holy person, see Peter Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Kaspar Greyerz (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), pp. 45-55.

cabildo wrote a letter of support to the papacy, stating that María de Jesús inspired the locality's indigenous population, and in 1715, sent a letter to the king asking that he continue to work with the Vatican toward María de Jesús' beatification.[117] The case, however, stagnated until 1733, when the convent's agents in Rome had the case reopened.[118]

While poblanos reacted ecstatically to the news, the Convent of the Immaculate Conception organized commemorative masses, processions, and masquerades. The Convent approached the "Most Noble City" to "authorize" the event and treat it as "something so yours" – or as an event reflecting the importance of the city and the authority of its governing council. In official discourse, the "Most Noble City" and the cabildo were one in the same, and the council, therefore, reflected the identity of poblanos as a whole. As the head of the body politic, the cabildo had the duty of sponsoring a large part of the event, and councilmen willingly conceded to the convent's request, citing the great joy with which the "Most Noble City" now found itself.[119]

Similarly, the cabildo also celebrated advancements in the canonization process of the sixteenth-century Franciscan lay brother Sebastian de Aparicio (1502-1600). While María de Jesús never received beatification, in 1790 Aparicio, whose incorrupt body still rests visibly in Puebla's Convent of Saint Francis, did. As with María de Jesús, the cabildo helped commemorate key moments in the canonization process. In 1768, the Franciscan convent informed the president of the cabildo that Rome's Congregation of

[117] Actas, 8 May 1696, AMP, AC 34, folios 60r-61v; Actas, 9 March 1715, AMP, AC 38, folio 69r.
[118] Rubial García, *La santidad controvertida,* p. 191.
[119] Actas, 9 November 1736, AMP-BNAH, AC 43, folio 290r-290v.

Rites had approved submitted testimonies of Aparicio's virtues and miracles. To demonstrate the city's joy, the cabildo decorated the municipal palace with tapestries and luminaries and attended a mass of thanksgiving.[120] Later, in 1790, the cabildo helped commemorate the beatification of Sebastian de Aparicio, one of only two Mexican holy people to receive beatification during the colonial period. The extravagant affair cost the city 2,000 pesos.[121]

Early modern Spanish subjects demonstrated extreme devotion toward their city of origin, and ceremonies reflected the same pride described in published chronicles. Sermons, in particular, proved useful for affirming a city's sense of self. In Puebla, several sermons recalled the foundation myth of the city. According to local lore, before Puebla was even founded, Indians saw angels on the territory in which the city was eventually built. The first bishop of Tlaxcala, Julián Garcés, had also purportedly dreamed of angels taking measurements of the site where Puebla would eventually be founded. Later, as noted, he supposedly went in search of the site and suggested moving the Episcopal see from Tlaxcala to the new city of Puebla.[122] In 1531, a mass officially inaugurated the city on the feast day of Saint Michael, christening it Puebla de los Ángeles. The annual feast day in honor of Saint Michael reminded all of the divinely inspired foundation of the city. Every year guilds processed on Good Friday with effigies of angels, a practice customary in cities throughout the colony.

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[120] Actas, 14 September 1768, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 364v.
[121] Cuenta de los gastos de la función y público culto que en honor del Beato Sebastián de Aparicio, 16 June 1792, AMP, CP 14, folios 68r-69r.
[122] Villa Sanchéz and de la Peña, *Puebla sagrada y profana*, pp. 12-13.

For Puebla's residents, however, the act may have held a deeply personal meaning. This seems highly probably given that sermons associated *poblanos* with angels. In 1708, the sermon in honor of the birth of Prince Luis I made this connection. The priest began with an ode to Puebla, stating "Most fortunate a thousand times [over], illustrious *patria* of the Angels. Ancient and noble land of loyal heroes! [A] city included within the most excellent of America . . . . Loyal a thousand times, I say, Angelic people, decorated in part by the emporium of the most brilliant letters of the most sacred religious orders, and in part illustrated by the most heroic coat of arms of your noble citizens . . . By many titles you are, Most Noble Angelic City, fortunate."[123]

Religious holidays, with their incorporation of guilds and confraternities, surely helped foster a sense of citizenship.[124] Clearly, social solidarity is difficult to gage with any certainty, but what is clear is that by the end of the eighteenth century, colonists began regarding poblanos as different. In the 1770s, anonymous satires mocking the poblanos circulated widely in Mexico City. In 1794, a commissioner of the Inquisition in

[123] Jacinto Bernardez de Ribera, *Sermon que en Accion de Gracias Ofrecio â Dios, y à su Purissima Madre el Convento de las Llagas de Nuestro Seraphico Padre S. Francisco de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles: Por el dichosissimo nacimiento de N. Principe, y Señor Don Luiz Phelipe el Primero de España*. (Mexico City: por la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1708), folio A1r; The full quote reads "Dichosísima mil veces Patria ilustre de los Ángeles. Antiguo noble solar de fidelísimos Héroes! Ciudad entre las mas excelentes de la América grande por insigne! Fidelísima mil veces, digo, población Angélica, que guarneciéndote por una parte con el emporio de letras más lucidas en sacratísimas religiones, è ilustrándote por otra con el blasón mas heroico de tus ciudadanos nobles goza ya desde hoy a la sombra de la más perfecta Aurora las influencias benignas de la más luciente estrella! Por muchos títulos eres, Nobilísima Ciudad Angélica, dichosa;"

[124] Other historians have made this argument. See, for example, Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, "Las fiestas novohispanas: Espectáculo y ejemplo," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 9:1 (Winter 1993), pp. 19-45.

Querétaro discovered a satire criticizing the poblanos for, among other things, being provincial and lacking a creole consciousness.[125]

Poblanos, therefore, came together not for colony, but for *patria chica.* In colonial Puebla, however, social divisions proved endemic. According to a sermon in honor of the Coronation of Saint Joseph in 1788, Puebla's barrios suffered from a form of "original sin"; members of each barrio hated each other so much that they instigated battles against one another on major feast days. Because Puebla was established on a site previously uninhabited by indigenous people, it attracted an eclectic mix of Nahuatl-speaking residents from Cholula, Huejotzingo, and Tlaxcala, but also Zapotec Indians and Otomís. Animosity between the early settlers may have been what the priest meant by his reference to "original sin." Thus, religious holidays did not act as panaceas for ruptures within the social body.

According to the priest, however, the cult of Saint Joseph helped the people forget their discord. On the day of the coronation, they came together carrying the insignias of their respective barrios, all threw flowers on the floor as the effigy entered the building, and everyone, "great and small," respected each other on this special day. The sermon, furthermore, articulated the Patriarch's role as the caretaker of the two greatest human beings ever to have lived – the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ. By extension, the people

[125] Expediente formado con motivo de haberse remitido el comisario de Querétaro un papel titulado Relación verídica que hace de la Procesión del Corpus, AGN, Inquisición 1321, Expediente 10, folios 48r-74v; Expediente formado con motivo de un papel satírico contra los poblanos valiéndose en el sagrado texto de la Doctrina Cristiana y protesta de la fe, AGN, Inquisición 1156, Expediente 10, folios 280r-297r.

may have associated the Patriarch with the caretakers of their "Most Noble and Illustrious City of Puebla."[126]

For the political culture of eighteenth-century Puebla, the most important saints were therefore those sworn into the pantheon by the city's *regidores*. These not only served as powerful intercessors, but as unifying symbols of civic identity. Slowly, over the course of the eighteenth century, Mexico City began promoting the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe outside the capital, and Puebla's councilmen proved more than willing to embrace this creole cult, as it had that of Saint Rose of Lima. Once established in Puebla, their feast days became part of the ceremonial repertoire of the cabildo. Councilmen adopted patron saints for a variety of reasons and sometimes used their "success" in other European and New World cities as justification for including them in the holy pantheon. Yearly celebrations in honor of Saint Rose, however, began with an instruction from above. In a cédula dated 24 May 1672, the Crown made the virgin a patroness of the empire and soon after, Puebla's aldermen elected her to intercede on the Spanish Crown's behalf in the celestial court.[127] As historian Antonio Rubial García has argued, *limeños* first adopted the holy woman in the early seventeenth century as an intercessor and the Crown then appropriated her cult to meet state-building aims. Vigorous promotion led to a remarkably quick canonization and diffusion of the devotion throughout the empire. In 1668, the papacy beatified the saint, in 1670 she received

[126] Joseph Atanasio Díaz y Tirado, *Sermon panegírico, que en la plausible y festiva imperial coronación del Santisimo Patriarca Señor San Joseph* [. . .] (Puebla: Oficina del Real Seminario Palafoxiano, 1789).
[127] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 67r-100r.

canonization, in 1672 the Crown made her a patroness of the empire, and in 1673 the cabildo of Puebla included her as a patroness.[128]

Two years later, in a strikingly different turn of events, the cabildo agreed to subsidize and celebrate the feast day of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The nuns of the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy essentially "bartered" the annual celebration in exchange for four plots of land and the remaining 140 pesos on a loan owed by the cabildo. The officiating priest proposed to hold a lit candle at the beginning of the sermon and espouse how the cabildo functioned as the primary patron of the festivities. After reviewing the proposal, the cabildo agreed to elect the Virgin of Guadalupe and to award the convent an annual subsidy of 25 pesos.[129]

Later in the eighteenth century, while the cabildo of Puebla established its devotion to Guadalupe, Mexico began promoting the cult outside the capital. By the turn of the century, Puebla already had a confraternity dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe and locals had begun collecting engravings of her image.[130] Eventually, Guadalupe garnered a sufficiently large following to merit her own church. In 1721, the city inaugurated the church of the Virgin of Guadalupe with elaborate festivities lasting over several days.[131] The cabildo hosted the second day of the event at a cost of 160 pesos.[132] In 1723, the city spent 140 pesos to host a day of fiestas in honor of the church's new

[128] *Ibid*., folios 95r-101r.
[129] *Ibid*., folios 89v-94r.
[130] El Señor Inquisidor Fiscal de este Santo Oficio contra el D. Juan de Jáuregui y Barcena, canónigo doctoral de la Santa Iglesia de la Puebla y provisor [. . .] por haber impedido que las cofradías de aquella Ciudad asistiesen a la fiesta de S. Pedro Mártir, AGN, Inquisición 711, Expediente 2, folios 108r-225v.
[131] Actas, 21 October 1721, AMP, AC 40, folios 366v-367r.
[132] Actas, 2 January 1722, AMP, AC 40, folio 460r-460v.

retablo.[133] Only later, in 1737, when afflicted by the devastating *matzahuatl* epidemic did the cabildo of Mexico elect the Virgin of Guadalupe as its primary patron, urging cabildos throughout the colony to do the same.[134] Puebla's councilmen agreed to make a public oath to honor Guadalupe as an act of solidarity with the city of Mexico and as a response to the havoc reeked by the disease. Yet, while discussing the issue three councilmen made a point of emphasizing that the Virgin of Guadalupe had functioned as Puebla's patroness for the past eighty years.[135] Apparently, many members of the community wanted councilmen to carry out the oath. In a jointly penned letter, Puebla's guilds implored city fathers to fall in line with Mexico City.[136] In 1738, councilmen made the oath and held an elaborate celebration costing over 1,077 pesos.[137] In 1756, the cabildo of Puebla then celebrated the virgin's exaltation to patroness of the colony.

Historians such as Jacques Lafaye and D.A. Brading have interpreted the cabildo of Mexico's patronage of Guadalupe as the expression of an awakening creole consciousness and an incipient form of nationalism.[138] By appropriating local cults, the Crown, in the case of Saint Rose, and the cabildo of Mexico, in the case of Guadalupe, benefited from strong local followings. Puebla's aldermen adopted Saint Rose because a

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[133] Memoria de los gastos que yo Don Juan Zorilla mayordomo de propios y rentas de esta Nobilísima Ciudad tengo hechos de orden de los Señores Capitulares así en el día de la dedicación del templo de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, 1724, AMP, CP 2, folios 113r-114r; Testimonio de la cera que se gasto en la dedicación del Templo de Guadalupe, 5 September 1724, AMP, CP 2, folio 115r-115v.
[134] Cabildo of Mexico to the cabildo of Puebla, 18 March 1737, Mexico City, AMP, RC 10, folios 80r-81r.
[135] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 191r-194v.
[136] Actas, 25 January 1738, AMP, AC 43, folio 382r.
[137] Cuenta y relación jurada, AMP, CP 9, folio 9r.
[138] See Jacques Lafaye's analysis in *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531-1813*, trans. Benjamin Keen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976; first printed 1974); D.A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 343-361.

royal cédula arrived instructing them to. They also proved more than willing to celebrate Mexico City's Virgin, but had more personal reasons for doing so. She had, after all, been Puebla's virgin long before the cabildo of Mexico requested that the city celebrate her cult. Because the Virgin of Guadalupe already had such a devoted following in Puebla, councilmen made the transition, transforming her from a patron of the city to a patroness of the colony.

Overall, however, the cabildo of Puebla did not direct its energies toward strengthening an independent "colonial" or creole identity, but to creating a sense of loyalty to the king and empire, and to transfer legitimacy to local ministers. Large-scale spectacles, moreover allowed councilmen to absorb disparate corporations and ethnicities under an overarching civic identity, assisting in the difficult task of maintaining social order. Gálvez's proscriptions did not take into account the crucial role played by ceremony in the local political culture. Although it is unclear whether councilmen continued to host banquets on important feast days, they simply ignored some of the Visitor General's directives. While Gálvez banned the printing of invitations for public functions, councilmen continued to have them made and hand delivered to the city's leading citizens and religious institutions.[139]

By the 1770s, councilmen had come to accept, in a limited way, the inevitability of change. Inspired by a general spirit of reform, councilmen did not reject all of Gálvez proscriptions. Puebla's councilmen, for example, willingly accepted the prohibition against the issuance of "tips" and the hosting of parties when a *regidor* took office, or

[139] See, for example, a copy of the invitation for a procession in honor of Jesus the Nazarene in 1773. Carta de convite, 1 April 1772, AMP, RC 14, folio 101r.

when an *alcalde ordinario* became elected by the council. Apparently, individuals celebrated their taking of office with sweets and the giving of "presents," in the form of money. While this practice highlights how ritual served to strengthen the position of ministers and differentiate them from the masses, Gálvez found it particularly disturbing, arguing that these acts were merely ostentatious demonstrations. Likely regarding the ban as a release from the pressure of matching the generosity of wealthier elites, cabildo members willingly concurred.

Although Gálvez prohibited councilmen from providing subsidies so that people could buy outfits for public spectacles, the Crown eventually raised the salaries of councilmen from 33 pesos annually, to 300 pesos annually, so logically councilmen could invest money back into ceremonies if they so wished. As noted, Gálvez also argued that ceremonial outfits for mace bearers should be kept in a trunk in the municipal palace, and only taken out on the eve of an important function. As I discuss later, in the 1760s and 1770s, the militia became an important presence in the city and competed with the cabildo for prestige. By the 1770s, the municipal office holders in Mexico City and the royal officials at court began using military-styled uniforms for important functions. In 1774, inspired by the new fiscally conservative directives and military ethos of the empire, the cabildo of Puebla also asked for the privilege of using uniforms.[140] Eventually, the councilmen of Puebla had two different styles of uniforms to choose from – one used for its most important occasions, like the feast days of patron saints, and other

[140] Viceroy Bucareli to the cabildo of Puebla, Mexico City, 20 April 1774, with a note from the *fiscal*, 20 May 1774, AMP, RC 9, folios 633r-663r.

less elaborate outfits for litanies and other customary, if not obligatory, events.[141] This then allowed councilmen to conform themselves to the new spirit of fiscal conservatism, mirrored in the Visitor General's directive regarding the costumes of mace bearers. At the same time, however, the councilmen's military uniforms served to identify their status, even more than the costly vestments made for past ceremonies; now all councilmen wore the same color uniform on the assigned day and other citizens, regardless of wealth, were prohibited from donning similar outfits.

The cabildo of Puebla conformed in some degree to the proscriptions made by Gálvez, but changes were minimal and did not provoke, for the most part, destabilizing change. When the Crown established a professional militia in the city, this did spark jurisdictional disputes over ceremonial preeminence. Yet, public ritual remained the primary vehicle for expressing authority and councilmen continued to exalt the monarch, the viceroy, the universal Church, and their own positions ceremonially. Rituals, moreover, helped councilmen articulate a sense of belonging to the imperial elite, or to transcend the province and demonstrate parity with the *regidores* of Mexico City and the courtiers of Madrid.

Public ritual served a multiplicity of functions. In this chapter, we examined how it promoted corporate, class, and ethnic consciousness and how it served to enhance the authority of local ministers. Colonial society, with its distinct affiliations, remained cohesive under the banner of king, God, and city. Ceremony, however, also met material

[141] For a list of these occassions and the corresponding uniforms that councilmen had to wear, see Mariano Enciso y Texada, *Ordenanzas que debe guardar la Muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles, del Reyno de la Nueva España [. . .]* (Puebla de los Ángeles: Oficina de Don Pedro de la Rosa, en el Portal de las Flores, 1787).

objectives. By extending their patronage to those who provided services for ritual, the cabildo enhanced its power, while also invigorating the local economy. Public spectacle fed an industry.

Chapter 6: The Industry of Spectacle: The Profitability of the Seemingly Unprofitable

In 1771, the Visitor General informed the cabildo of Puebla that hereafter councilmen would have to send all estimates for public spectacle exceeding 40 pesos to the general treasury for prior approval. Specifically, Gálvez referred to ceremonies that commemorated special occasions, such as viceregal entrances, rites of passage of members of the royal family, commemorations of new churches, and other unforeseen events, such as Spanish military victories. These fell under the general rubric of *extraordinarios,* or "extraordinaries" – a special category of expenses that also included architectural projects, repairs to the irrigation systems, and other elevated costs associated with the urban infrastructure.[1]

In addition to ordering a review of the city's expenses for extraordinary events, Gálvez reduced the amount that the cabildo could spend on its own particular festivities. As noted previously, in order to prepare the cabildo for the inevitable, Gálvez first sent councilmen a copy of the reductions made to Mexico City's annual festive calendar – cutbacks that reduced the annual ceremonial budget by 33 percent.[2] In1776, the general treasury did away with six of Puebla's patron saints, thus cutting 150 pesos from the annual budget. It further prohibited the issuing of "tips," or money to "help with costs," to councilmen and employees of the cabildo. As viceroys approached the city of Puebla for their triumphal entrances, the cabildo sent commissioners and the porter to the town

[1] José de Gálvez to the cabildo, Mexico City, 27 March 1771, AMP, LV 18, folio 72r.
[2] Instrucciones remitidas por Gálvez, Mexico City, 18 January 1771, AMP, LV 19, folio 26r-43v; María José Garrido Aspero, "Las fiestas cívicas en la ciudad de México: De las ceremonias del estado absoluto a la conmemoración del estado liberal," (Master's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), p. 42.

of Tepeyahualco to welcome him; for this task, they often provided each individual with a subsidy. For oath ceremonies, the cabildo also provided councilmen with subsidies to help purchase outfits, and when commissioners traveled to Mexico City to congratulate the viceroy on a royal birth or marriage, the cabildo also assisted with expenses. For important public celebrations, councilmen typically provided mace bearers with new clothes. Again, the general treasury prohibited this practice. Mace bearers could no longer accept new clothes as a subsidy, but had to store their fancy costumes in a trunk in the municipal palace, taking them out only for important celebrations like viceregal entrances, royal marriages, and oath ceremonies.[3]

Although councilmen protested the reductions, high-level administrators managed to set real limits on expenditure. In 1786, the Crown redrew the political boundaries of the colony and placed regional governors, or Intendants, in charge of larger jurisdictions. In 1791, the Intendant of the region of Puebla drew up a list of expenses accrued annually by the cabildo. For the government's annual ceremonial obligations, the Intendant estimated costs at 504 pesos, 1 real.[4] In 1710, by contrast, the cabildo had spent 946 pesos on its most basic ceremonial obligations.[5]

Councilmen resisted intrusions into their ceremonial practices for a variety of reasons, but there is a component of colonial ceremony which historians have generally overlooked. In addition to legitimizing Church and state and consolidating disparate

[3] Actas, 20 July 1776, AMP-BNAH, AC 55, folios 186r-189v; Actas, 23 November 1776, AMP-BNAH, AC 55, folios 475v-476r; Pedro López de Villaseñor, *Cartilla Vieja de la Nobilísima Ciudad de Puebla (1781)*, ed. José I. Mantecón (Mexico City: Impresa Universitaria, 1961), p. 239.
[4] Razón del producto de los propios y arbitrios de esta ciudad Nobilísima Ciudad, 1792, AMP, LC 1, folios 155r-163v.
[5] Cuentas de Propios, 1710, AMP, LC 1, folios 80r-113v.

identities, ceremony helped generate income for thousands of artisans, manual laborers, and merchants and provided another (and perhaps more concrete) way for councilmen to extend their influence. Indeed, ceremony fed an industry. Fireworks makers, confectioners, and candle makers all depended on public festivities to make their livings. Other groups of craftsmen and service providers did not necessarily depend exclusively on ceremony, but certainly benefited from the periodic contracts offered by the cabildo and other corporations throughout the city.

Despite the rich ceremonial life of Spanish American municipal governments, few scholars have analyzed the economic implications of mounting elaborate spectacles. With the exception of one study of viceregal entries in late colonial Mexico City, none has addressed the connection between the industry of spectacle, patronage, and the augmentation of political power at the local level. Using surviving bills dating from 1766 to 1821, Steven Flinchpaugh argues that in Mexico City viceregal entries did not only serve to illuminate the power of the Crown through political pageantry, but additionally, from "the perspective of colonial merchants, artisans, and officeholders, political art was also good business."[6]

An analysis of expenditure in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Puebla confirms the conclusions arrived at by Flinchpaugh in his preliminary study. This chapter broadens the discussion to include an examination of the services and costs associated with the cabildo of Puebla's entire festive calendar, as well as the large-scale

[6] In 1996, Steven G. Flinchpaugh stated that an examination of the socio-economic implications of viceregal entrance ceremonies and the connection to political patronage represented "an unwritten chapter in the history of colonial Spanish America." See Flinchpaugh, "Economic Aspects of the Viceregal Entrance in Mexico City," *The Americas* 52:3 (January 1996), pp. 345-365.

events commemorating entrances, beatifications, military successes, and rites of passage of members of the royal family. The ceremonial cycle and so-called "extraordinary" events afforded individuals opportunities to extend their services for profit. Parishes, confraternities, and guilds also organized celebrations which allowed for the redistribution of wealth, but the cabildo hosted and subsidized such a diverse range of events that its impact on the local economy surely outmatched those of other organizations. Indeed, the economic implications of the cabildo's ceremonies perhaps can only be compared to those of Puebla's cathedral chapter.

A sizeable portion of Puebla's yearly expenditure went toward ceremony; it is highly probable that individual aldermen gained financially by providing contracts to cronies or, quite possibly, by inflating estimates and pocketing funds designated for ceremony. In another respect, however, the cabildo as a whole gained from the periodic mounting of spectacles. By extending contracts, it forged ties of dependency between merchants, artisans, confectioners, convents, and the corporation. Through the industry of spectacle, the community at large benefited from the trickling down of municipal capital. Elaborate entrance and oath ceremonies provided dramatic infusions of cash into the local economy, but the cabildo's own calendar of commemorations further generated a steady source of revenue for merchants, craftsmen, and manual laborers.

By 1771, the Visitor General established the general treasury to review the annual accounts of New Spain's municipal governments. As the Crown attempted to gain greater control over ceremonial expenditure, the aldermen of Puebla began to consider

the possibility of using ceremony not only to extend their patronage and turn a personal profit, but to free the corporation from debt. In 1768, with no special occasion in mind, the cabildo began renting out the privilege of sponsoring bullfights for a fee. A suggestion from the viceroy precipitated the decision, as did the new economic exigencies of funding a professional militia. With the exception of this new practice and some cutbacks implemented from above, the cabildo did not radically alter its ceremonial practices. Despite pressures from high-level officials, councilmen continued to spend what, by contemporary standards, can only be considered an exorbitant amount on ceremony.

In order to appreciate fully the amount that councilmen allocated toward ceremony, one must establish what constituted a livable wage in the eighteenth century. Given that employers often paid workers with a combination of money, housing, and food, and that work was often intermittent, estimating what constituted a livable wage is a difficult task. Colony-wide estimates for late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New Spain place the per capita subsistence income between 20 and 30 pesos per year. According to contemporary estimates, a typical head of household of the lower class would have to earn between 129 and 262 pesos, or between 2.8 and 5.7 reales a day.[7] For late eighteenth-century Mexico City, Michael Scardaville placed the per capita

[7] Basing himself on the 1936 value of U.S. currency, J. Villasana Haggard estimated that between 1642 and 1686, one peso equaled 1.5844 dollars, which would place the value of a real (one-eighth of a peso) at .19805 dollars. Between 1777 and 1811, a silver peso represented 1.7151 dollars, or around .214 reales. See J. Villasana Haggard with Malcolm Dallas McLean, *Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1941), pp. 106-107. For estimates on cost-of-living see, Gabriel Haslip-Viera, "The Under Class," in *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Louis Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), pp. 294-296; Richard L. Garner with Spiro E. Stafanou, *Economic Growth and Change in Bourbon Mexico* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), p. 33.

subsistence income at 34 pesos annually, or three-fourths a real a day. For the average family of four, he estimated the annual livable wage at 136 pesos.[8]

However, as Susan Deans-Smith has noted, these estimates can only be taken as a starting point. Cigarette rollers with four dependents in Mexico City's tobacco factory would typically earn only 70 pesos a year, subsidizing this amount in other ways, which included stealing tobacco to roll and sell cigarettes independently.[9] Employers, moreover, often supplemented payments in cash with payments in kind, and sometimes they only paid with food, clothing, or housing. Nonetheless, it is clear that in order to subsist, the poorest colonist required a minimum of seven-tenths (.7) of a real a day, or its equivalent in kind.

Given the basic requirements for survival in colonial New Spain, the amount that the cabildo customarily spent on ceremony seems almost obscene. The average viceregal entrance, which happened about every six years, cost the cabildo around 12,000 pesos and it was not out of the ordinary for the cabildo to spend over 700 pesos on ceremony for any given year. Comparing the amount that the cabildo spent on public ritual to larger purchases of the well-to-do help to place ceremonial expenditure in even greater perspective. A building in the central part of the city, in the parish of the Sagrario Metropolitano, typically cost 3,000 pesos and for this same amount, one could enter a convent for life. Although the cabildo usually exceeded the number, 3,000 pesos was also the maximum that the cabildo could spend legally on viceregal entries.

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[8] Michael C. Scardaville, "Crime and the Urban Poor: Mexico City in the Late Colonial Period" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1977), p. 67

[9] Susan Deans-Smith, *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers: The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), p. 199.

A significant portion of the cabildo's annual expenses went toward satisfying the requisites of ceremony, and these included both cyclical and extraordinary events, such as viceregal entrances, royal births and marriages, and other rites of passage of the royal family. Starting in the late seventeenth century, the cabildo began keeping annual fiscal reports with itemized notations of income and expenditure. From 1692 to 1753, the cabildo kept at least twenty annual accounts that detailed the government's ceremonial expenses. Although suspiciously incomplete in some respects, these provide an idea of the amount that the council periodically spent on ceremonies.[10]

For the first half of the eighteenth century, the cabildo ran a deficit, managing to garner an annual surplus in only eight of the twenty years. Of the eight years in question, the cabildo achieved its greatest surplus in 1740, with 3,869 pesos, but in 1711, its second highest surplus was a mere 818 pesos. For the other six years in which the cabildo profited, the amount fluctuated between 217 pesos and 4 pesos, contributing to an average surplus of only 287 pesos.

The average deficit, on the other hand, more than doubled the average surplus. In 1704, the council had a deficit of 2,585 and at the end of 1710, its lowest deficit year, the cabildo owed 12 pesos. For the twenty years in question, the cabildo had an average deficit of 628 pesos. Although shocking by contemporary standards, Spanish American

[10] Refer to the accounts for 1692, 1704, 1708, 1710, 1711, 1719, 1721, 1722, 1724, 1726, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1749, 1751, and 1753 housed in Cuentas de Propios, AMP, LC 1, folios 3r-17v, 23r-38v, 51r-68v, 80r-113v,124r-145v, 217r-225r, 364r-371r; Cuentas de Propios, AMP, LC 2, folios 217r-225r, 364r-371r; Cuentas de Propios, AMP, LC 4, folios 170r-187r, 269r-280r, 370r-381v; Cuentas de Propios, AMP, LC 5, folios 173r-190v, 253r-261r; Cuentas de Propios, AMP, LC 6, folios 80r-86r; Cuentas de Propios, AMP, LC 7, folios 130r-133v, 322r-330v; Cuentas de Propios, AMP, LC 8, folios 69r-77r, 150r-157r. The accounts may be missing some data. For example, in 1719, the cabildo did not record any costs for the fiestas for Saint Joseph and Corpus Christi. Note that in this discussion, all amounts are rounded to the nearest peso.

governments in general suffered from fiscal insolvency. Indeed, governing with debt and deficit proved standard practice in Havana, Santa Fe, Cuzco, Potosí, and Mexico City.[11] Puebla's cabildo functioned according to imperial standards. According to a list of debt accrued by the cabildo, in 1770 the cabildo owed a total of 58,500 pesos in debt and had to pay 2,925 pesos in annual interest for loans dating back to the seventeenth century. In 1770, moreover, the cabildo owed 6,000 pesos in back interest on just one of its loans. A significant part of this debt derived from the cabildo's ceremonial obligations and viceregal entrances in particular. Councilmen solicited five of the eleven loans still active in 1770 to help fund viceregal entrance ceremonies. In the seventeenth century, the cabildo borrowed a total of 28,000 pesos from convents for the entrances of the Marquis of Laguna (1680) and the Count of Galves (1688) and in 1770, the cabildo still paid interest on part of the principal for these loans.[12]

The cabildo of Puebla's fixation with mounting ceremony - to the detriment of perhaps other responsibilities – contributed to its financial burden and, again, this fits within the patterns of behavior of other municipal councils. Ritual obligations, in general, contributed significantly to the cabildo's yearly expenditure. Again returning to the twenty years (1692-1753), the cabildo spent an average amount of 2,018 pesos on public ceremony. This amount, of course, far outweighs both the average surplus of the cabildo and the average deficit. According to the accounts, the cabildo grossed an average of 8,453 pesos a year and spent, also on average, 8,811 pesos. Costs associated

[11] See Constantino Bayle, *Los cabildos seculares en la América española* (Madrid: Sapientia, 1952), pp. 306-323.
[12] Libro que contiene las copias de las escrituras de censos principales que reconoce sobre sus propios y rentas esta Nobilísima Ciudad, 1770, AMP, LV 13.

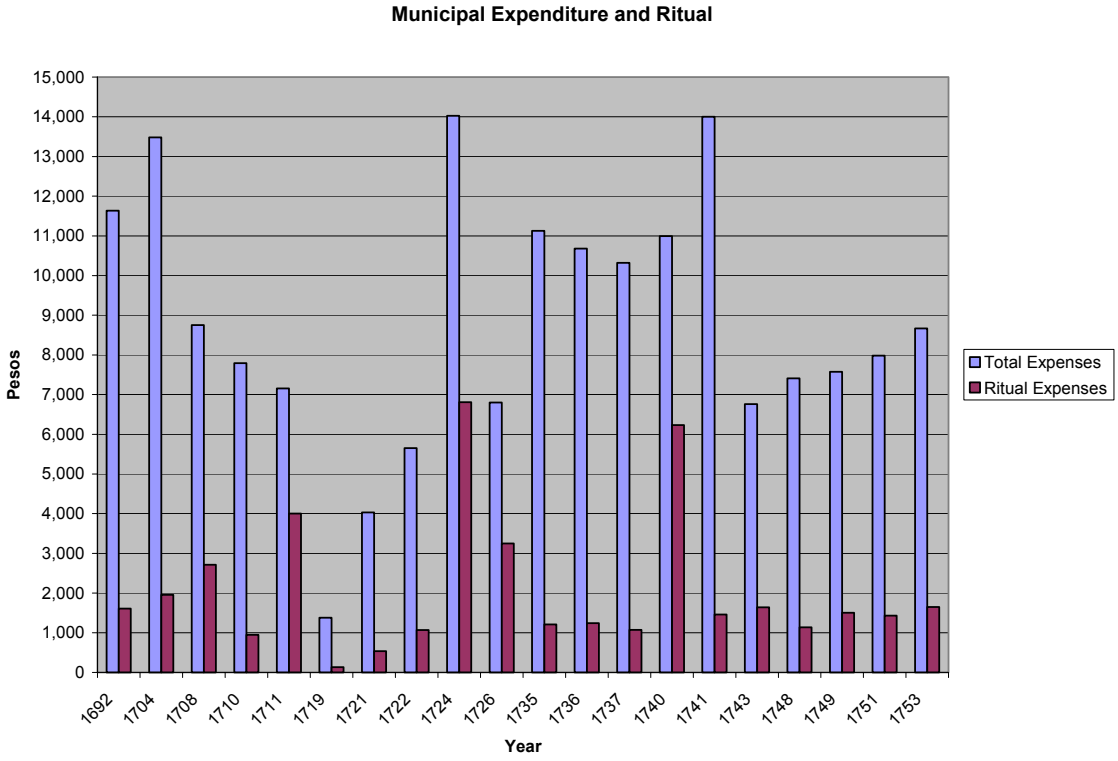
with ritual, therefore, represented almost 23 percent of the total expenses of the cabildo and approximately 24 percent of its income.

Councilmen rarely hesitated in approving costs for ceremony, despite the fact that they often had to find creative ways to pay for unforeseen, extraordinary events. After the arrival of cédulas ordering an elaborate commemoration, the cabildo sometimes had to ask tenants to pay their rent a year in advance. Oftentimes, councilmen had to make personal donations to cover costs or lend money with the understanding that they would be paid back at a later date.

Extraordinary events made costs soar. For eight years spanning 1704 and 1740, the cabildo spent nearly 2,000 pesos or more on public ceremony (Fig. 2). In 1704, the cabildo spent 1,995 pesos on ritual; 500 pesos went toward past-due bills associated with a previous viceregal entry, and 200 pesos went toward paying for the Episcopal entrance of Garcia de Legaspi Altamirano y Velasco. In 1708, out of a total ceremonial cost of 2,718 pesos, the cabildo spent 1, 445 pesos on the celebrations in honor of the birth of Luis I and 537 pesos on the entrance of Bishop Pedro Nogales Dávila. Three years later, the cabildo paid a staggering 3,011 pesos on costs associated with the entrance of the Count of Linares, and 157 pesos on the celebration honoring the recouping of Madrid from the forces of the Austrian Alliance. This year, the cabildo paid a total of 4,404 pesos on ceremony. In 1724, the highest year for ritual expenditure, the cabildo spent 6, 805 pesos; 6,114 of this went toward the oath ceremony for Luis I. In 1726, the cabildo spent 1,850 pesos out of a total ceremonial cost of 3,252 pesos on the funeral for the ill-

fated Luis I. In 1740, the cabildo spent 200 pesos for the ceremonial banquet in honor of a new *alcalde mayor*, 297 pesos for the dedication of the Convent of Saint Rose, and an impressive 4,108 pesos on the entrance of the Duke of the Conquest. This year, the cabildo spent a total of 6,233 pesos on ceremony. Clearly, it was the extraordinary events that took the greatest toll on municipal coffers. Foremost among these were viceregal entrances and royal ceremonies of succession.

Fig. 2.
Comparison of overall expenditure and ritual expenses over twenty years



Sources: accounts for 1692, 1704, 1708, 1710, 1711, 1719, 1721, 1722, 1724, 1726, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1740, 1741, 1743, 1748, 1749, 1751, and 1753 housed in Cuentas de Propios, AMP, LC 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

In the seventeenth century, councilmen customarily solicited loans from convents to pay for such events. Because of the utility of ritual for legitimizing the colonial system and cementing attachments to Church and state, aldermen could not easily skirt their obligations. Yet, although Puebla's *regidores* had varied reasons for approving costs, there are indications that they also stood to make a personal profit from commercial dealings involved in large-scale ceremonial productions.

Some scholars have suspected that councilmen profited illegally from ritual, but evidence of graft in ceremonial planning is hard to come by.[13] For obvious reasons, councilmen did not even hint at profiting from ceremonies during cabildo meetings, nor did notaries record such suggestions. But on 23 November 1700, the *alcalde mayor*, Juan José de Veytia y Linaje, attacked councilmen for their sloppy record keeping and "corruption." He complained that many bills had yet to be paid for past entrance ceremonies, including those for the flavored waters and rooms at inns for the entrance ceremony of the Count of Montezuma. He stated that there were surely people who had not been paid for services rendered for the last viceregal entrance ceremony and who refused to seek payment from the cabildo out of fear of reprisal. Interestingly, he also noted that according to the previous accountant's records, some services had been registered erroneously as having been paid. By accusing the councilmen of corruption, the *alcalde mayor* seemed to suggest that they had pocketed funds reserved for specific aspects of the entrance ceremony.[14]

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[13] See, for example, Gustavo Rafael Alfaro Ramírez, "La lucha por el control del gobierno urbano en la época colonial. El Cabildo de la Puebla de los Ángeles, 1670-1723" (Master's Thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998), p. 21.

[14] Actas, 23 November 1700, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folios 561r-565r.

Minutes from later in the century clearly suggest that councilmen gained from the cabildo's various ceremonies. In the 1720s, Miguel Zerón Zapata sat on the municipal council. This shady character had a history of unethical behavior; he had previously served as the notary of the cabildo and had gotten into serious trouble for sharing private council information with outsiders and with the corrupt *alguacil mayor*, Pedro Mendoza y Escalante. Because Mendoza y Escalante held the monopoly over the municipal meat supply, councilmen had barred him from attending any meetings related to the monopoly and community slaughterhouses. Zerón Zapata, however, provided him with crucial information, and for this received the censure of the *alcalde mayor*. After buying the post of alderman, Zerón Zapata continued in his old ways. While serving as *regidor*, he was caught sneaking around the streets of the city with some implements typically used to break into and enter homes. The *alcalde mayor* strongly suspected him of intending to commit burglary.[15]

The cabildo eventually forced him out of the cabildo, but not before Zerón Zapata served as the patron of fiestas. In 1729, without consulting with his fellow *regidores*, the councilman ordered a new *tarasca*, *gigantes*, and new outfits for the dolls, for a supposed cost of 500 pesos. He did not provide itemized receipts for the services, however, and when, twenty days before Corpus, the cabildo went to check on the costumes, none had been made. By this time, Zerón Zapata had left the city. His wife, an actress of low repute, knew *nothing* about his supposed preparations for Corpus Christi.[16] It is likely that as a last act of revenge, Zerón Zapata stole the money for Corpus. By not providing

[15] Actas, 14 May 1729, AMP-BNAH, AC 41, folios 38r-45v.
[16] Actas, 9 June 1729, AMP-BNAH, AC 41, folios 55v-56r.

itemized receipts, he also may have intended to pocket at least some of the funds before fleeing the city.

Usually patrons of fiestas provided detailed receipts of costs, but sometimes they lumped together "miscellaneous" expenses and "tips." In 1741, the porter received 119 pesos for "minute" expenses related to the last day of the novena for Saint Joseph, and in 1744, received 56 pesos and 6 reales for unspecified costs associated with the last day of the novena.[17] One can imagine the porter keeping some of these funds or rewarding allies of the cabildo through "tips." The giving out of "*propinas*" or "tips" to create allegiance was apparently standard practice. Alcaldes ordinarios, after being elected to the municipal council, held parties to celebrate their new positions and awarded "tips" to members of the community. The Crown, feeling that this dissuaded less wealthy members of the community from accepting these judicial positions, outlawed the practice in 1776.[18]

Ceremonies, therefore, could provide opportunities for pocketing funds and sometimes, councilmen competed with outsiders for potential revenues. In the 1720s, the Crown established a tax on the sale of *pulque*, and one of Puebla's *regidores*, José Mendoza y Escalante, son of Pedro Mendoza y Escalante, held the right to sell *pulque* and collect the tax in Puebla. Yet, producers from outlying indigenous barrios and villages had customarily sold their *pulque* during Puebla's many fiestas. In 1725, Mendoza y Escalante tried to prohibit the practice by tipping over some of the vendor's barrels of *pulque.* He argued that excessive drinking in the barrios led to disorderly

[17] Libranza, 12 May 1741, AMP, LC 5; folio 200r; Libranza, 5 October 1744, AMP, LC 6, folio 165r.
[18] Actas, 23 November 1776, AMP-BNAH, AC 55, folios 444r-446r.

conduct and debauchery. The cabildo of Tlaxcala and vendors from the village of San Luis Telolcolco, however, argued that Mendoza y Escalante merely wanted to protect his monopoly and corner the market on *pulque* during fiestas. According to them, the *regidor* felt threatened by the indigenous *pulque* vendors who descended upon the multiple barrios of the city for the continuous series of fiestas, which usually lasted eight days a piece. The Crown, persuaded by the argument about Indian drunkenness, sided with Mendoza. If members of the indigenous communities wanted to sell *pulque* in the city, they had to do so in the stand overseen by Mendoza in the plaza of Saint Roche. From hereafter, they could no longer sell in the barrios during fiestas.[19]

Public ceremony provided a plethora of opportunities for making money and forming alliances. By inflating the cost of ceremonial expenses, councilmen had yet another, more direct way, of profiting from ceremonies. In 1743, the *alguacil mayor* refused to approve the expense report submitted by the two commissioners in charge of the reception of the Count of Fuenclara (1742). Citing the suspicious nature of some of the entries, he called the final amount requested by the commissioners "illegitimate." The *alguacil* noted, for example, that the commissioners claimed to have spent 62 pesos and 4 reales on nails in order to hang a mere four objects inside the palace. He claimed that if this expense report were compared to the previous one submitted for the entrance of the Duke of the Conquest, one would observe a "notable deformity."[20] The *alguacil* likely had a valid point. Although the expense report for the Duke of the Conquest's

[19]Para que los puestos donde expende pulque en la ciudad de Puebla, no se muden ni pasen a los barrios donde celebren fiestas, 1725, AGN, Indios 49, Expediente 213, folios 213v-215v.
[20] Actas, 2 July 1743, AMP-BNAH, AC 45, folios 119r-120r; ". . . una deformidad notable."

entrance is unfortunately unavailable, for nails and studs used in the adornment of the palace for the 1760 viceregal entrance, the commissioners spent a grand total of 4 pesos, 6 reales.[21] The commissioners of the 1742 entry had supposedly paid for a substantial portion of the festivities and expected to be paid back by the cabildo's accountant, but according to the *alguacil*, there was no way to verify exactly how much money actually came out of their own pockets.[22]

While it is highly probable that councilmen profited personally from municipal ceremonies, these events also depended on the redistribution of wealth to people from all social classes. Extraordinary events in particular allowed for the sharing of a significant amount of capital. Foremost among these were Puebla's periodic commemorations in honor of incoming viceroys. The cabildo struggled to maintain the grandeur of the viceregal entrance in the face of increasing pressures to cut costs. Part of the reason for the cabildo's resistance lay in the fact that the viceroy represented the royal person. Yet, as argued by Flinchpaugh, cabildos also resisted because through the entrance, they forged ties of loyalty with members of the community who benefited financially from entrance ceremonies.

According to available data on viceregal entrance expenditure from 1696 to 1760, the cabildo spent on average 12,000 pesos per viceregal entry.[23] The costs of celebrating a triumphal entrance, housing, and fêting the viceroy and his entourage outweighed the costs of all other extraordinary events. Puebla's councilmen prepared extensively for

[21] Relación jurada para la entrada del Marques de Cruillas, 1760, AMP, LC 9, folios 128r-131r.
[22] Actas, 2 July 1743, AMP-BNAH, AC 45, folios 119r-120r.
[23] See chapter 3 and documentation related to the viceregal entrances in 1696, 1702, 1739, 1742, 1746, and 1760.

entrances and, in 1768, codified steps for preparing for the viceregal visit. They did this to best serve the representative of the king and to avoid having to pour over cabildo minutes in order to piece together proper protocol.[24] This document helped councilmen identify all requisites for the viceregal entrance and serves as a basis for assessing which groups benefited most.

First of all, the manual specifies that the cabildo should borrow all required materials and decorations from wealthy citizens, which inevitably occasioned transportation costs and guards. The cabildo, moreover, had to hire cooks, pastry chefs, and dishwashers and purchase special food from Vera Cruz such as salmon, tuna, pickled mushrooms, capers, raisins, almonds, cheese from Parma, and wine from Flanders. Fresh fish had to be brought in, as well as pork, ham, deer, veal, rabbit, lamb, chicken, capon, pheasant, beef, and turkey. Creole and Castilian vinegar needed to be ordered as condiments, as well as salt and pepper. Pastry chefs required sugar, chocolate, hazelnuts, fruit preserves, almonds, and ground cinnamon, and arrangements had to be made for daily deliveries of milk and butter. Wine needed to be purchased, as well as *aguardiente* for the servants. Councilmen had flavored water brought in from outside, but councilmen also needed to station someone inside the palace for the sole purpose of preparing refreshments. Ice needed to be transported in for flavored water and ice creams and a *nevero*, or person in charge of cutting and serving the ice, was always to be on hand.[25] The cabildo contracted musicians for fandangos and to entertain the party during meals.

[24] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 391v.
[25] *Ibid*., folio 396r.

While in Puebla, the viceroy always traveled in a coach with six reins, and coachmen therefore had to be hired.[26]

The cabildo spent the largest percentage of entrance-ceremony budgets on hosting the viceregal entourage in the municipal palace. For the entrance ceremony of 1746, the cabildo paid the cook 612 pesos and as only part of the desert expenses, paid 228 pesos for sweets, *soletas*, and fruit preserves. The pastry chef, in turn, made 426 pesos, 5 reales. Thousands of pounds of local ingredients were either produced and purchased in Puebla or acquired from vendors of other regions within the colony. The cabildo, for example, acquired snapper from Campeche, cheese from Aguascalientes, hams from Toluca, and cacao from Moracaibo and Tabasco. Many of Puebla's *regidores* engaged in commerce, making it likely that they benefited either personally or by extending contracts to their friends and family. The cabildo also acquired Flemish lace, *tisú*, and other European fabrics from merchants involved in the Atlantic trade, and acquired silks, like *sayasaya,* from the Philippines. In 1721, when the Crown established a trade fair in Jalapa, Vera Cruz displaced Puebla as the premiere center for the redistribution of imported goods. Nonetheless, it is likely that councilmen maintained ties with wealthy merchant families and used their influence to acquire goods in a timely fashion.[27]

Because triumphal arches always proved costly, artists benefited from Puebla's periodic celebration of the viceroy. At different moments throughout the eighteenth century, the monarchy tried to limit expenditure for viceregal entrances but councilmen

[26] *Ibid*., folio 396r-396v.
[27] See Carmen Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas, 1590-1785* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1984).

did not edit the ceremonies extensively, nor did they reduce the amount spent. In fact, in 1739 the city's viceregal entrance cost over 20,000 pesos, surpassing seventeenth-century levels. In 1696, for the last Habsburg viceregal entrance, the cabildo spent 603 pesos on the arch. Five hundred pesos went to the master painter Pedro de Silva for constructing and painting the arch, and 75 pesos went to a priest (most likely a Jesuit) for devising and painting the emblems. The rest went towards *petates* (straw mats) to cover and protect the arch from water, two candles to place alongside it, and rope, for tying around the structure.[28] In 1746, the cabildo spent 400 pesos on the triumphal arch for Juan Francisco Güemes de Horcasitas and, in 1789, for the entrance of the Count of Revillagigedo, the cabildo spent a combined amount of 500 pesos for the triumphal arch and fireworks.[29] Even as late as 1798, the cabildo made sure to include an arch that, again, translated into substantial revenues for the artists. The painter Miguel Zendejas received 220 pesos for his efforts, and the architect Antonio de Santa María received 60 pesos. For emblems and poetry, the cabildo paid 150 pesos and in order to make a particularly grand impression, councilmen also purchased two paintings from the Convent of Saint Catherine to decorate the arch for a total cost of 460 pesos.[30]

Manual day laborers also stood to gain from a triumphal entrance. The viceroy's entourage required smooth roads for its overland journey from Vera Cruz to Puebla, and the cabildo, therefore, hired workers to make these roads navigable. Although the cabildo could not handle an extensive repair of the entire route, it could ensure that the

[28] Actas, 9 August 1697, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folio 207r.
[29] Memoria de lo gastado en el recibimiento del Excelentísimo Señor Don Juan Francisco Güemes de Horcasitas, 1746, AMP, LC 1, folios 570r-649v; Cuenta de efectos de la llegada del virrey, 1789, AMP, LC 11, folios 226r-263r.
[30] Entrada de Don Miguel José de Aranza, 1798, AMP, LC 19, folios 194r-196v.

viceroy enjoyed an easy entrance into Puebla. By smoothing the roads on the immediate outskirts of the city, councilmen tried to provide a good first impression of Puebla and of its governing council. In 1794, for the entrance of the Marquis of Branciforte, 159 workers, paid by the cabildo, dedicated themselves to repairing the road leading from the Noche Buena to the San Francisco bridges. Forty workers labored between six and eight days for three and a half reales a day. In addition, the cabildo contracted 100 peons at two and a half reales a day, seventeen errand boys at a real a day, and two overseers at four reales a day.[31] At the very least, these stipends provided workers with a day's worth of food.

Hosting the viceroy sometimes necessitated renovating the municipal palace. In 1760, for all materials and services related to adorning and renovating the palace for the entrance of the Marquis of Cruillas, the cabildo spent 319 pesos, 4.5 reales. Again, the majority of the expense consisted of incidentals, such as iron, nails, and thread from Campeche, cloth, transportation costs, and labor. Countless individuals earned money preparing for a viceregal entrance. The cabildo spent, for example, 2 pesos, and 3.5 reales on the indigenous laborers to clean the palace and related supplies, and 4 pesos, 4 reales on indigenous guards to watch over the valuables lent by wealthy neighbors for the adornment of the palace. The cabildo spent nine days preparing the palace for the Marquis of Cruillas' stay. For each day of renovations, the cabildo purchased food for indigenous laborers. On 20 September, for example, two indigenous governors gathered

[31] Cuenta del costo que se hizo [. . .] de la entrada de esta ciudad desde el puente de Noche Buena hasta la de San Francisco para el recibimiento del Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Marques de Branciforte, 1794, AMP, LC 15, folios 4r-7v.

32 native laborers and on 23 September, the governors gathered 49 indigenous laborers; for both days of labor, the cabildo spent 5 pesos, 4.5 reales on food.[32]

Other more substantial costs included the purchasing of iron and the services of a master blacksmith to make hooks to hang the mirrors lent by Puebla's wealthy citizens. This represented a significantly larger expense of 18 pesos, 2 reales. Purchasing cloth could also prove expensive. Tailors used *sayasaya*, a highly esteemed silk from India, to wrap the cords of oil lamps, mirrors, and the canopies of the beds for a total cost of 44 pesos, 6 reales. Because of the importance of the Philippine trade for the local economy and the prestige of the cloth, councilmen used *sayasaya* in a variety of ways, and even rented some to drape the dressing room of the virreina for a cost of 1 peso, 4 reales.[33]

Tailors, carpenters, and contractors provided important services for all viceregal entrances. In 1760, tailors made draperies for the palace balconies and the bedroom of the viceroy, and even made decorative wall hangings for a partition in the kitchen. The cabildo, moreover, commissioned a damask tablecloth especially for the occasion. In preparation for the viceregal visit, one carpenter took down a partition in the palace, and another carpenter nicknamed "El Muerto" constructed beds for two members of the entourage. For incidentals the cabildo paid no more than two or three pesos. More extensive renovations could cost substantially more. In 1794, for the entrance of Miguel José de Aranza, the cabildo contracted a master architect who in turn hired a troop of overseers and laborers. For six weeks of renovations, which included the whitening of the

[32] Entrada del Marquis de Cruillas 1760, AMP, LC 9, folios 128r-131r.
[33] *Ibid*., folios 128r-131r.

palace's façade, the cabildo spent a total of 244 pesos, 6.5 reales.[34] To merely decorate the municipal palace – gather borrowed materials, purchase incidentals, and contract labor – the cabildo spent 2,127 pesos.[35]

While members of the local elite had the responsibility of lending ornate rugs and mirrors for the viceregal visit, the cabildo had to pay to move these objects from private homes to the palace and then for guards to watch over them. Tin workers took the heavy mirrors down from their owner's walls and then transported them to the palace. This, apparently, constituted a serious responsibility, as the cabildo paid one tin worker 2 pesos for taking down and moving Don Francisco Méndez de Quiñones' mirrors to the palace. Another tin worker took down the mirrors belonging to eight families and brought them to the palace for 11 pesos, 4 reales. After the departure of the viceroy's party, the artisans again had to take down the mirrors and return them to their owners. For this the cabildo paid another 9 pesos. Two individuals watched over the palace each night for 4 reales a piece and, while laborers moved the valuables of wealthy individuals to the palace and placed them in the desired locations, squadrons of Indians watched over for a cost of 4 pesos, 4 reales.

During viceregal visits objects inevitably broke or disappeared, and this occasioned new expenses. In 1747, after the entrance of Juan Francisco Güemes de Horcasitas, the cabildo paid 30 pesos to replace five dozen broken Venetians glasses belonging to Captain Don Francisco de Paz. During this same visit, two silver forks and

[34] Entrada de Don Miguel José de Aranza, 1794, AMP, LC 19, folio 40r.
[35] Testimonio de la cuenta que presenta . . . para el recibimiento, preparación, y refresco del Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Marqués de Branciforte, 1794, AMP, LC 15, folio 69r.

a knife were either mislaid or stolen; the cabildo paid 12 pesos, 6 reales to replace them. Somehow forty-five napkins and six towels also got lost, and the council replaced these for a cost of 76 pesos, 4 reales.[36] In 1760, several of the palace's chairs suffered damage and some shells that adorned the municipal palace balcony mysteriously disappeared. To repair the chairs, replace the shells, and for some unspecified labor of a master gilder, the cabildo spent 19 pesos, 2.5 reales.

Viceregal entrances naturally cost the city more than any other public spectacle because, in addition to holding a public reception, the cabildo also fêted and housed the viceregal entourage. Extraordinary events in general, however, cost the city thousands of pesos. Sometimes, an unexpected development in Madrid forced municipal councilmen to scramble to find the capital necessary to mount a royal ceremony. In 1725, the cabildo lacked the resources to hold the funerary honors for Luis I and had to force tenants to pay their rent early and in 1747, they did the same to satisfy the demands of Philip V's oath ceremony.[37] Although usually not as expensive as viceregal entrance ceremonies, the costs of royal ceremonies could reach extraordinary levels. For the funerary honors for Ferdinand VI, the cabildo spent 3, 064, 1 real and 3 granos, more than the average dowry of an eighteenth-century nun.[38] This amount went toward elaborate costumes, the platform for the king, refreshments, candles, decorations for the municipal palace, and fireworks.

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[36] Memoria de lo gastado en el recibimiento, 1746, AMP, LC 1, folios 573v-574r.
[37] Actas, 18 April 1725, AMP-BNAH, AC 40, folio 372v; Exequias de Felipe V, 1747, Expendientes 208, Legajo 2473, folio 195r.
[38] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 384r-384v.

As with all oath ceremonies, funerary honors, and triumphal entrances, the cabildo received bids from artisans to construct ephemeral structures. Before any large-scale spectacle, and after its "publication" (a separate ceremony complete with musicians and a procession on horseback to let all know of the upcoming event) the cabildo advertised for bids to construct needed works of ephemeral art, like arches and platforms, and a ring for the bullfights. This process involved all qualified and willing artisans who submitted designs and set a price for their work. Those who offered the most affordable bid and provided the best design built the structure. For the funerary catafalque for Philip IV (1666), the cabildo's notary recorded a detailed account of the bidding process. A town crier announced the competition five times before any bids came in. Eventually, two teams consisting of a master carpenter and a master sculpture offered to make the tomb. Diego de los Santos and Antonio Pérez won the contest and agreed to construct a catafalque for a total cost of 415 pesos (See Figure 1). If the finished piece lacked splendor the cabildo reserved the right to contract other artisans, with the understanding that de los Santos and Pérez would receive no reimbursement for materials already spent.[39]

Artisans sought to reap the greatest possible rewards from their negotiations with the cabildo. Carpenters and sculptures often owned prefabricated pieces of ephemeral structures, which they then used to remake a triumphal arch, oath ceremony platform, or catafalque. In this way, they managed to provide the cheapest bid and maximize

[39] Lutos por Felipe Cuarto, 1666, Expedientes 208, Legajo 2472, folios 162r-165v.

profits.[40] For bullfights, the cabildo rented out the main plaza to carpenters, who charged admittance to the spectacles. The cabildo allowed bullfights to take place for a few days, and in order to have this period of time extended carpenters sometimes offered the cabildo special favors. For viceregal entrances, councilmen, employees of the cabildo, the cathedral chapter, and other members of the elite had special seats reserved, with canopies to protect them from the sun. From these privileged positions, they could enjoy refreshments as they observed the fights. Constructing the special seating did not constitute a favor, however; it was a condition for renting out the main plaza.

In 1724, a master carpenter paid the cabildo 700 pesos to hold three-days of bullfights in the main plaza in commemoration of the exaltation of Luis I. Fearing that he would not make enough money, the carpenter later asked for three more days of bullfights, offering to hold "*fiestas reales*," or royal celebrations consisting of fireworks and masquerades of elegantly dressed people. The carpenter, moreover, finally agreed to pay an extra 450 pesos to be put toward the cabildo's refreshments, and councilmen, in exchange, granted him six days of bullfights.[41]

Extraordinary events provided great opportunities for revenues and when the cabildo celebrated such an event, costs rose substantially. In 1708, for example, the cabildo celebrated the birth of the first Bourbon heir to the Spanish throne, spending 1,445 pesos. In this same year, the cabildo also helped celebrate the Episcopal entrance of Pedro Nogales Dávila for 537 pesos. Because of the elevated costs associated with

[40] Francisco de la Maza, *La mitología clásica en el arte colonial de México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1968), pp. 12-13.
[41] Actas, 13 October 1724, AMP, AC 40, folios 310v-311v.

both events, the cabildo's total ceremonial expenses rose to 2,718 pesos. If the cabildo had celebrated both these events, it would have spent a mere 736 pesos on public ceremony that year.[42] In 1711, the cabildo spent 3,011 pesos on a viceregal entrance and 157 pesos to celebrate the Austrian Alliance's expulsion from Madrid. Without these extraordinary expenses, the cabildo would have spent 836 pesos on its festive obligations.[43] In 1740, the cabildo spent 4,108 pesos on the viceregal entrance and 200 pesos to commemorate the entrance of a new *alcalde mayor*. The Convent of Saint Rose also inaugurated its new church this same year, and the cabildo made itself responsible for one full day of the ceremonies, paying for candles, music, and fireworks, for a total cost of 297 pesos. The cabildo spent a total amount of 6,233 pesos on ceremony, but the extraordinary events alone cost the government 4,605 pesos.[44]

When a member of a royal family died, a prince or princess married, or a new king rose to the throne, this translated into enormous costs for the local government of Puebla. In 1724, for example, the cabildo spent 6,114 pesos to celebrate the succession of Luis I to the Spanish throne. Without the commemoration of the *jura del rey*, the cabildo would have spent only 691 pesos on public ceremony. In 1726, the city marked the death of the king with funerary honors costing 1,850, which contributed to a total ceremonial expense of 3,252 pesos. Without the royal funerary honors, it would have spent only 1,402 pesos.[45] Although the aggregate amounts that the cabildo spent on ceremony are unfortunately unavailable for other years, the cabildo either kept separate

[42] Cuentas de propios, 1708, AMP, LC 1, folios 51r-68v.
[43] Cuentas de propios, 1711, AMP, LC 1, folios 124r-145v.
[44] Cuentas de propios, 1740, AMP, LC 5, folios 173r-190v.
[45] Cuentas de propios, 1724, AMP, LC 2, folios 251r-263r; Cuentas de propios, 1726, AMP, LC 2, folios 348r-358r.

accounts or made notations of the costs associated with other extraordinary events. In 1760, for example, it spent around 3,604 pesos on the funerary honors for Ferdinand VI and 1,640 pesos on the funerary catafalque for the Queen Mother Amelia of Saxony.[46]

Although the precise extent to which the industry of spectacle fueled the local economy is difficult to gage, there can be no doubt that large-scale spectacles stimulated Puebla's key industries. The local economy, for example, depended significantly on the raising of pigs and the manufacture of pork related products such as lard and soap. This could be an extremely lucrative business and many hacienda owners sold pork, soap, and lard in Puebla, as well as other cities such as Oaxaca and even overseas.[47] By the middle of the eighteenth century, the chronicler Juan Villa Sánchez estimated that pig farmers slaughtered 80,000 animals annually. When a viceroy entered Puebla for the first time, pig farmers benefited tremendously. Chefs required lard for cooking and organizers used oil lamps to illuminate the inside and outside of the palace. On the eve of the city's most important feast days, the city also decorated the balconies of the palace with oil lamps, and this, of course, necessitated the purchasing of lard.[48] Since the colonial period, Puebla has been renowned for its production of *talavera*, a type of glazed ceramic. For the entrances of viceroys, the cabildo often purchased *talavera* cups for use inside the

[46] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 384r; Libramientos, 1761, AMP, LV 9, folios 77v-81r.
[47] Carmen Yuste López, *El comercio de la Nueva España con Filipinas*, pp. 26-27.
[48] Relación del patrón de fiestas, 1788, AMP, LC 11, folios 114r-118v.

palace.[49] Glass makers also benefited tremendously from entrances, as hosting the viceregal entourage required jugs, glasses, and sometimes new windows.[50]

Puebla has also been famous for its candies and pastries. For annual and extraordinary ceremonies alike, councilmen purchased candies and cookies from individuals and from the city's numerous female convents. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the cabildo had the custom of holding a private party on the eve of Corpus Christi. This gathering necessitated the purchasing of wine, sandwiches, a type of cookie known as *soletas*, and of course, candy.[51] For the annual feast day celebrations for the cabildo's two most important patrons, Saints Michael and Joseph, the cabildo also entertained family, esteemed residents, and priests with a variety of confections, including more *soletas* and candy.[52]

For the entrances of viceroys, the cabildo expended hundreds of pesos on sweets, acquired primarily from the city's female convents, but also from people who worked independently in their homes. Some of the most costly aspects of the ceremonies were the "fountains" of sweets; the council commissioned large multi-tiered fountain-like structures and covered them with exquisite confections. In 1696, for the entrance of the Count of Montezuma, the cabildo spent 1,300 on confections and sweets preserves. Each night, the city's leading gentlemen, esteemed members of the viceroy's entourage, and pages went to the fountains to sample the delightful confections made of coconut,

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[49] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folio 393v.
[50] See, for example, Relación jurada dada por el Señor Don Miguel Vásquez Mellado de los gastos hecho en el hospedaje del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Montezuma, 1698, in Actas, AMP, AC 34, folios 268v-283v.
[51] See, for example, Gastos de Corpus Christi, 6 June 1736, AMP, LC 4, folio 195r-195v.
[52] Para el día y víspera de San Miguel y el último día del novenario a San José, 1740, AMP, LC 5, folio 110r-110v.

cinnamon, and sweetened almond paste. These confections did not, however, include pastries, or *frutas de horno* ("baked fruits"). For viceregal entries, chefs also concocted sponge cakes and chocolate filled pastries, with whimsical names such as "moustaches" and "whispers." In 1696, the cabildo spent 951 pesos on pastries alone.[53]

The custom continued throughout the eighteenth century, providing lucrative contracts for confectioners, pastry chefs, and convents. In 1708, during a time of severe economic distress, the cabildo spent 442 pesos for sweets in honor of the entrance of Bishop Pedro Nogales Dávila.[54] For the oath ceremony in honor of Luis I in 1724, the cabildo earmarked 700 pesos for sweets and flavored waters, a significant amount considering that the event lasted no more than three days.[55] For oath ceremonies, moreover, the royal standard bearer always held a party in his home, for which he also purchased an assortment of sweets.[56]

Entrance ceremonies, however, required the largest purchase of sweets, as elite members of the entourage and city required them for their late afternoon snack. Councilmen made it a point of ordering the confections eight days in advance from the city's convents.[57] In 1794, the cabildo paid the nuns of the Convent of the Holy Trinity 147 pesos and the nuns of Saint Claire over 308 pesos. Several elite women also benefited; Doña María Fresneros, for example, made over 294 pesos and Doña María Antonio Sánchez over 166 pesos. The confectioner Manuel Castillo made nearly 316

[53] Relación jurada dada por el Señor Don Miguel Vásquez Mellado de los gastos hecho en el hospedaje del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Montezuma, 1698, in Actas, AMP-BNAH, AC 34, folios 268v-283v.
[54] Juan Baptista Prado, Mayordomo y Administrador de Propios, 1708, AMP, LC 1, folio 65v.
[55] Actas, 28 September 1724, AMP-BNAH, AC 40, folio 305v.
[56] See Jura de Carlos III, 1760, AMP, Expedientes 205, folio 197r.
[57] Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 395v-396r.

pesos. The confections included a type of candy known as *picado*, and confections made out of *alcorza*, or fondant. All told, the cabildo spent close to 1000 pesos on sweets alone.[58]

Viceregal entrances required days-worth of refreshments. In 1747, for the entrance of the Marquis of Cruillas, the cabildo paid the cook 612 pesos, a pharmacist on whom it placed the responsibility of making flavored water 150 pesos, and 228 pesos on sweets. For the flavored water, the cabildo solicited the assistance of the purveyor of snow. This was a municipal monopoly, for which the purveyor would pay the cabildo 150 pesos for the right to gather snow from the peak of the mountain "La Malinche" and transport it back to make and sell flavored iced water. Those who held the monopoly paid large yearly sums. In 1723, for example, one man offered to pay 300 pesos a year to hold the monopoly for five years.[59] Those who held the monopoly sold their products in the public park and, when viceroys entered ceremoniously, often made great sums on refreshments. In 1794, for example, the cabildo paid the purveyor of snow 600 pesos for flavored water, shakes, and ice cream.[60]

The cabildo's ceremonial demands put money in the pockets of the city's leading artisans and merchants, but also helped to redistribute funds to the more humble members of the community. Wig makers, for example, stood to gain from the annual demands of Corpus Christi. The cabildo had squadrons of indigenous people dance around with large dolls known as *gigantes*, or giants, dressed up in elaborate costumes and wigs. In 1736,

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[58] Testimonio de la cuenta que presenta . . . para el recibimiento preparación y refresco del Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Marqués de Branciforte, 1794, AMP, LC 15, folios 69r-73r.
[59] Actas, 27 August 1723, AMP, AC 40, folio 105r-105v.
[60] Testimonio de la cuenta que presenta . . . para el recibimiento preparación y refresco del Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Marqués de Branciforte, 1794, AMP, LC 15, folios 69r-73r.

the cabildo paid a wig maker 29 pesos for brushing and curling two wigs for the dolls. Wigs required constant attention, and councilmen frequently called on the expert skills of wig makers. The cabildo, moreover, had dancers parade papier-mâché dolls in the likeness of Indians, and these also required wigs. In 1741, the cabildo paid José de Iglesias 33 pesos to make new wigs for its Indian dolls.[61] Corpus Christi pageantry demanded the consistent expertise of wig makers, and in 1744, José de Iglesias again repaired and brushed the wigs of the *gigantes*, for a total cost of 15 pesos.[62]

Corpus Christi also included *cabezudos*, large papier-mâché dolls with disproportionately enormous heads. The cabildo commissioned artisans to craft the heads and decorate their faces. The *tarasca*, or dragon, also required constant maintenance, and sometimes the cabildo had artisans make new masks for dancers to wear during the procession. The *gigantes* sometimes required new costumes, which of course necessitated the purchasing of silk, ribbons, sewing needles and the skills of a master tailor, and each *gigante* bore a gold leaf insignia. Each year, the cabildo also paid the indigenous governor of Puebla 60 pesos for the work of Indian artisans in making, erecting, and taking down large flowered arches known as *sombras*, which graced the entire route of the Corpus Christi procession. Incidentals represented a significant expense. In 1732, for the *sombras*, to repair the cabildo's rug used to decorate its bench inside the cathedral, for the porter's assistance, to repair all of the dolls, their wigs and create new costumes, to repair the wheels on the *tarasca*, to buy wood for the traditional bonfire on the eve of Corpus, to compensate the squadron of dancers with money and

[61] Por los gastos de Corpus Christi, 1741, AMP, LC 5, folio 116-116v.
[62] Gastos de Corpus Christi, 11 June 1744, AMP, LC 6, folio 158r-158v.

their customary gift of chocolate for the eight days of Corpus, to purchase invitations for the processions, to defray the cost of new shoes and uniforms for the mace bearers, and to purchase wine and candles so prisoners could also commemorate the holiday, the cabildo spent a total of 303 pesos, 3.5 reales. This amount, moreover, did not include the 160 pesos spent on fireworks.[63]

The cabildo contracted the same individuals over years and established relationships with the families of the city's best artisans. The Mungia family, for example, constructed elaborate fireworks for the cabildo throughout the entire eighteenth century. In the early decades, Joseph de Mungia provided fireworks for a number of important occasions. In 1704, he made *ruedas*, spiraling wheels of fireworks and *tiros*, firecrackers, for the feast days of Saints Joseph and Michael and in 1708, produced 190 pesos-worth of fireworks for Corpus Christi and an additional 750 pesos-worth of pyrotechnics for the celebration in honor of Prince Luis I.[64]

Mungia, however, was only one of several firework-makers sought by the cabildo. In 1736, the cabildo paid Antonio Gómez 27 pesos and 4 reales for creating and igniting the fireworks for the feast day of Saint Michael. The cabildo used fireworks to mark key moments in the festivities, and the services provided by craftsmen like Gómez proved central to the council's design. Single explosions coincided with the cabildo's entrance into the cathedral on the eve of the event, the beginning of mass, the initiation of the *magnificat*, or sung prayer, the end of mass, and the cabildo's departure from the

[63] Memoria de los gastos que se hicieron en la fiesta de Corpus Christi, 1732, AMP, LC 3, folios 213r-221r.
[64] Domingo de las Edesa Verastegui, Administrador de la Renta de Propios, 1704, AMP, LC 1, folios 34r-35v; Actas, 7 July 1708, AMP, AC 36, folio 58r.

cathedral. On the day of the event, explosions marked the entrance of councilmen into the cathedral, the initiation of the Gloria, or second half of the mass, the reading of the gospels, the elevation of the Host, and the utterance of words *ite, missa est*, meaning "Go, the mass has ended."[65] Various artisans of pyrotechnics worked for the cabildo throughout the eighteenth century. In 1741, the government paid Francisco Javier de Velasco 93 pesos and 4 reales for *castillos* (castles) made out of reed frames and spiraling, blazing wheels for Corpus Christi. Among other "inventions", Velasco made numerous *buscapies*, or firecrackers which moved snake-like along the ground. Ten years later, the cabildo contracted him yet again for Corpus Christi, for which he made, among other things, 24 *coronas*, or crowns made out of reed frames and laced with fireworks, to be burned during the day's primary mass and during key positions along the processional route, marking the Eucharist's passing. The municipal council paid him 104 pesos and 3 reales for his work.[66]

Councilmen not only contracted specific individuals consistently, but members of the same families over a number of years. In the 1720s and 1730s, Mungia created fireworks for the feast days of Saints Michael and Joseph and created elaborate displays for Corpus Christi which cost the city around 200 pesos; his displays consisted of reed frames in the shape of trees, arches, domes, towers, and crowns covered in fireworks, *buscapies*, and *cámaras* (single blast explosions shot into the air).[67] By 1788, Mariano de

[65] Para los fuegos que se quemaron en la víspera y día de San Miguel, 1726, AMP, LC 4, folio 206r-206v.
[66] Para los fuegos que se quemaron el día de Corpus Christi, 1741, AMP, LC 5, folio 224r; Para los cohetes que se quemaron en el último día del novenario de San Joseph y la octava de Corpus Christi, 28 June 1751, AMP, LC 8, folio 58r.
[67] Libranza para Joseph de Mungia para los cohetes que se quemaron la víspera y día de Corpus, el domingo infraoctava y el jueves de su octava, AMP, LC 3, folios 34r, 60r, 77r, 107r-107v, 160r, 209r.

Mungia had begun to work as a *cohetero*, or fireworks maker, for the cabildo, and in 1794 Antonio de Mungia made the fireworks for the entrance of the Marquis of Branciforte. These consisted of eight reed frames, laced with fireworks, in the form of castles, three arches covered in fireworks, and "*dancers,*" a specific type of pyrotechnical invention. He charged a total of 380 pesos.[68]

Beyond the periodic purchasing of food, refreshments, arches, and platforms, councilmen spent by far the most money on wax. Candles constituted a central component of baroque religiosity. An obvious necessity in dark, colonial churches, candles also embodied a variety of symbolic meanings. The sacramentals reminded all of Christ's spiritual example: the light connoted enlightenment, and the flame reminded Catholics of the purity of his soul. For practical, as well as symbolic reasons, candles became required elements in funerals, at mass, and at the public administration of the sacraments. The 25 pesos customarily spent on patron saints went toward the purchasing of wax for the feast day's primary mass.

Candles represented a large percentage of the cabildo's annual expenses. In 1740, for the last day of the novena in honor of Saint Joseph, the cabildo spent over 233 pesos on candles. One year later, the cabildo helped celebrate the dedication of the new Dominican convent of Saint Rose and paid for the candles that burned during the ceremony. For the dedication, for the eve and feast day of Saint Michael, and for the last

[68] Relación del patrón de fiestas, 1788, AMP, LC 11, folios 44r-54r; Testimonio de la cuenta que presenta . . . para el recibimiento preparación y refresco del Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Marqués de Branciforte, 1794, AMP, LC 15, folio 194r.

day of the novena for Saint Joseph in the cathedral, the council spent over 316 pesos on candles.[69]

Wax always represented a substantial portion of the aggregate amount spent for any feast day celebration or extraordinary event. Year after year, the important feast days of Saints Joseph and Michael required the greatest expenditure of wax. In 1747, for example, for the last day of the novena for Saint Joseph in the cathedral and for the feast day of Saint Michael, the cabildo spent 79 pesos and 4.5 reales each, for a total of 159 pesos, 1 real. Given that the cabildo also celebrated the last day of the novena for Saint Joseph in his parish in March, his cult naturally required the greatest purchase of wax. In 1747, the cabildo bought an additional 65 pesos and 3.5 reales worth of candles for Saint Joseph.[70]

In 1748, on wax alone, the cabildo spent 640 pesos, 5.5 reales. Of this total amount, the government spent 219 pesos on "fine wax" for the last day of the novena for Saint Joseph in his parish. This consisted of six two-pound candles, and thirty-four one-pound candles, all made from either Venetian wax, or some other kind of clear-burning beeswax. In addition, the cabildo also purchased an assortment of *bujía* candles, made of highly prized, and therefore costly, whale sperm. For the last day of the novena for Saint Joseph in the cathedral, the cabildo spent 201 pesos and an additional 204 pesos for the feast day in honor of Saint Michael. The cabildo, moreover, celebrated the election of *alcaldes ordinarios* with a thanksgiving mass for which it purchased 16 pesos, 5 reales

[69] Gastos de la cera que se quemó para San José, 1740, AMP, LC 5, folio 97r-97v; Por la cera que se quemó en las funciones de la Nobilísima Ciudad, 1741, AMP, LC 5, folio 171r-171v.
[70] Cera de las funciones, 8 January 1747, AMP, LC 6, folio 308r; Cera de las funciones, 22 February 1747, AMP, LC 6, folio 309r.

worth of candles. The aggregate amount of 640 pesos, 5.5 reales did not include the 25 pesos donated annually for the candles burned in honor of the cabildo's patron saints. By including this amount, the total rises to 940 pesos, 5.5 reales.[71]

Again, not including the twenty-five pesos assigned to twelve patron saints, in 1749 the cabildo spent 702 pesos, 3.5 reales on wax. The price of wax fluctuated from year to year based on market demands and availability, but this year the increase was partially attributable to the fact that the cabildo also spent an additional 168 pesos for 96 pounds of candle wax which were burned on three consecutive nights on the balconies of the municipal palace to commemorate the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, ending the War of the Austrian Succession.[72] In 1754, although the cabildo spent a mere 149 pesos, 7 reales for the candles burned on the feast days of Saints Joseph and Michael and to commemorate the election of the *alcaldes ordinarios*, wax continued to represent a substantial expense for the cabildo.[73]

Extraordinary events, such as those marking rites of passage of members of the royal family, necessitated the purchasing of wax not only for the masses, but also to illuminate the municipal palace. When Princess María Teresa married in 1751, the cabildo spent 50 pesos and 1 real for the thick pillars burned on the altar during the thanksgiving mass. For one of the novenas in honor of Saint Joseph, the feast day of

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[71] Cuenta y razón de la cera que por orden de Antonio Bacilio de Arteaga, Patrono de Fiestas, di para el último día del novenario del Patriarca . . . San Joseph, en su parroquia que celebró esta ciudad, 28 September 1748, AMP, LC 7, folio 94r-94v.

[72] Cuenta y razón de las partidas de la cera que en este presente año de (49) e dado por orden del regidor Juan Micieses Altamirano patrono de fiestas de la [NC] de Puebla de los Ángeles para la fiesta y novenario que se han ofrecido a ciertas parroquias, 1 October 1748, AMP, LC 7, folio 282r -283v.

[73] Cuenta de cera que ha tenido la [NC] en las funciones siguientes, 12 January 1754, AMP, LC 8, folio 129r.

Saint Michael, the election of the *alcaldes ordinarios*, and the mass in honor of the royal marriage, the cabildo spent a total of 216 pesos, 4.5 reales.[74]

As with the firework's makers, the cabildo nurtured relationships with certain families of candle vendors. Foremost among these was the family of the widow Bernabela de Anaya, whose shop supplied the cabildo with candle wax during the 1720s, 1730s, 1740s, and 1750s. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, her late husband, Mathias de Rojas, had previously supplied the cabildo with clean-burning wax from Venice or white Castilian wax. In 1691, Rojas supplied the candles for the last day of the novena for Saint Joseph in his parish and, in 1707, in addition to the candles for the novena for Saint Joseph Rojas supplied the candles for the main altar on the feast day of Saint Michael.[75]

After his death, Anaya took over the shop and became the council's primary purveyor of Castilian and Venetian wax. In 1721, the cabildo purchased 112 pesos, 4 reales-worth of Venetian wax from Anaya for the novena in honor of Saint Joseph in his parish.[76] Imported wax constituted a significantly greater expense than the purchasing of high quality Mexican wax. The cabildo, however, insisted on using imported wax. In 1747, financial pressures forced cabildo members to consider purchasing wax from Campeche instead of the customary Venetian wax for the funerary honors of Philip V. Although the cabildo eventually decided to use wax from Campeche, the proposal sparked serious debate. [77]

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[74] Cera para las funciones públicas, 30 December 1751, AMP, LC 8, folio 64r-64v.
[75] Cuenta de propios, 1691, AMP, LC 1, folio 12v; Cuentas de propios, 1707, AMP, LC 1, folio 64r.
[76] Patrón de fiestas, el Alférez Mayor Ignacio de Victoria y Frías. 17 May 1727, AMP, LC 3, folio 10r-10v.
[77] Exequias de Felipe V, 1747, AMP, Expedientes 208, folio 196r.

Anaya and her family received steady income from supplying the candles for the cabildo's festive calendar. In 1722, for the candles burned for the novenas held for Saint Joseph in March and September and the feast day of Saint Michael in September, the cabildo paid Anaya 138 pesos, 13.5 reales.[78] In 1724, for the cabildo's novena for Saint Joseph, Anaya received 82 pesos, one-half real for 2 *arrobas* (25.367 pounds) and 10 pounds of wax. In this same year, for the novena in honor of Saint Joseph in the cathedral, the cabildo paid Anaya 15 pesos, 6 reales, and for the feast day in honor of Saint Michael, the cabildo gave her another 40 pesos, 3 reales for candles.[79] 1727, for the feast day of Saint Joseph in the cathedral, Anaya provided candles for a total cost of 123 pesos, 1 real.[80] Again, in 1729 for ceremonies in honor of Saints Joseph and Michael, the cabildo paid Anaya 304 pesos, one-half real.[81] In 1732, Anaya made 260 pesos, 6 reales and, in 1733, she earned 205 pesos, 6.5 reales for the candles burned on the celebrations for Saints Joseph and Michael.[82] The cabildo called on her services well into the 1740s.[83]

Anaya and the council maintained close ties, which may partially explain the government's preference for her shop. Not only did Anaya provide the best candle wax, she also rented space in two of the cabildo's downtown buildings, paying an annual amount of 330 pesos.[84] For whatever reason, councilmen had an easy relationship with Anaya. They bought candles from her on credit and the patron of fiestas customarily sent

[78] Libranza, 12 May 1722, 6 October 1722, 6 October 1722, LC 2, folios 28r, 72r, 73r.
[79] Libranza, 23 May 1724, 28 September 1724, 30 September 1724, LC 2, folios 164r, 175r, 176r.
[80] Libranza, 3 October 1727, LC 3, folio 12r.
[81]Libranza, 25 May 1729, AMP, LC 3, 108r-108v; Libranza, 8 October 1729, AMP, LC 3, folio 126r.
[82] Libranza, 27 October 1732, AMP, LC 3, folios 220r; Libranza, 26 October 1732, AMP, LC 3, folio 221r;Libranza, 27 October 1732, AMP, LC 3, folio 222r; Libranza, 9 June 1733, AMP, LC 4, folio 57r; Libranza, 20 November 1733, AMP, LC 4, folio 66r.
[83] Libranza, 38 May 1743, AMP, LC 6, folio 57r.
[84] Transcript of cabildo meeting, 4 January 1751, AMP, RC 12, folios 104r-107v.

the porter to order candles for specific feast days. In 1743, the porter Manuel de Alcántara overstepped his bounds by ordering candles without the patron of fiestas' prior approval. Councilmen voted to throw him in jail and to use his bail to pay Anaya for her services.[85]

All extraordinary events such as funerary honors, oath ceremonies, entrances, and the constant demands of the cabildo's yearly festive calendar added to the municipal government's debt and its inability to maintain any semblance of fiscal solvency. At times, however, the cabildo did attempt to trim expenses related to ceremony. In 1746, for example, the cabildo agreed to make some dramatic cut backs. Upon the suggestion of the *regidor* Francisco de Mier, the cabildo agreed to stop spending the customary 200 to 300 pesos on fireworks and luminaries for Saint Michael and Corpus Christi and to reduce the customary amount of 100 pesos for Saint Joseph to 50 pesos.[86]

Yet, if councilmen took these austerity measurers to heart, the effects were barely perceptible. In 1748, the cabildo spent 219 pesos, one-half real on the wax for the celebration in honor of Saint Joseph in his parish, 201 pesos for the candles for the celebration in honor of Saint Joseph in the cathedral, and 204 pesos for the candles in honor of Saint Michael. For these occasions and for the wax purchased for the thanksgiving mass in honor of the election of the *alcaldes ordinarios*, the cabildo spent

[85] Actas, 9 November 1743, AMP-BNAH, AC 45, folio 478r-478v.
[86] Actas, 3 January 1746, AMP-BNAH, AC 46, folios 147v-148r.

640 pesos, 5.5 reales.[87] In 1751, for the fireworks to celebrate the cabildo's novena for Joseph and the octave of Corpus, the cabildo spent 104 pesos, 3 reales.[88]

More often than not, aldermen merely paid lip service to fiscal reform. In 1708, for example, the cabildo began planning the celebrations in honor of the first Bourbon heir to the Spanish throne. As the porter began listing the necessary components of the celebration, like luminaries, tapestries to decorate the outside of the municipal palace, fireworks, and costumes, the *regidor* Francisco Torija Ortuño suggested going into the trunk inside the cabildo's meeting room and taking out all of the cash required to pay for the event. Then, when the mace bearers asked for new clothes for the event, the *regidor* repeated his suggestion that councilmen go into the cabildo's trunk for all necessary cash. Because there was no money in the trunk, the notary jotted down Torija Ortuño's comment as an objection. Regardless of the *regidor*'s sarcastic opposition, the cabildo somehow found the resources to celebrate the royal birth. The event ended up costing the municipal government 1,445 pesos.[89]

Despite the extreme costs associated with public ceremony, the cabildo did not change old patterns of behavior. Public ritual constituted one of the main reasons the city suffered from chronic debt, but eventually, the viceroy and councilmen turned it on its head and began regarding public spectacle as a means with which to finance the debt. In 1768, the viceroy granted the cabildo permission to hold bullfights for profit. It is doubtful whether this measure would have been contemplated, let alone approved, if not

[87] Cuenta y razón de la cera, 28 September 1748, AMP, LC 7, folios 94r-95r.
[88] Para los cohetes que se quemaron en el último día del novenario de San Joseph y la octava de Corpus Christi, 28 June 1751, AMP, LC 8, folio 58r-58v.
[89] Actas, 7 July 1708, AMP, AC 36, folios 58r-59r; Cuentas de propios, 1708, AMP, LC 1, folios 51r-78v.

for the cabildo's constant complaints regarding the added pressure of the city's new militia. Housing, feeding, and providing uniforms for soldiers strained the cabildo's resources beyond capacity, and so councilmen began renting out the Alameda, its public park, to carpenters who organized bullfights.

With the exception of holding the bullfights in the park and not in the main plaza, councilmen and carpenters proceeded along the lines of custom. After receiving a letter to hold "royal fiestas" for profit, or in the everyday parlance of colonial Mexico, "bullfights," the cabildo took the bids from carpenters and awarded the contract to the highest bidders under the understanding that seats would be set aside for members of the cathedral chapter and dean, and that the seats for the governor and cabildo would have umbrellas or canopies, to protect them from the sun, as "has been customary in all [bullfights]."[90]

Lacking an excuse for holding bullfights, the cabildo searched for one. The carpenters and councilmen scheduled the event during carnival – a time that Governor Esteban Bravo y Rivera noted was for "any type of diversion."[91] As with oath ceremonies and entrances, the carpenters paid the cabildo for the right to hold bullfights and assumed all costs associated with the festivities. Initially, the cabildo awarded the eight carpenters who won the bid eight days for holding the bullfights, but ticket sales unfortunately did not cover the cost of materials. Apparently, the carpenters had difficulty drumming up interest because cockfights competed for the interest of the spectators. On 6 February 1769, the carpenters asked the cabildo to have the purveyor of

[90] Actas, 6 December 1768, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folios 403v-404r.
[91] Actas, 3 February 1769, AMP, AC 52, folio 437r.

cockfights cease holding matches during the period of the bullfights. Cockfights, however, were a royal monopoly and limiting them fell outside the cabildo's jurisdiction. Councilmen, therefore, granted them an extra two days for bullfights, with the understanding that they would buy the bulls, pay the matadors, and purchase the cabildo's refreshments – a required element in any of the councilmen's public celebrations. The carpenters, moreover, had to pay an additional 200 pesos. All together, the cost of these extra two days amounted to approximately 800 pesos.[92]

Although the Crown managed to streamline municipal expenditure on ceremony, it did not affect dramatically the way the cabildo funded its ceremonies. Extraordinary events continued to total in the thousands. In 1792, for example, the cabildo celebrated the beatification of Sebastian de Aparicio. In the sixteenth century, this lay brother became revered for holiness and his incorrupt body still lies in the local Franciscan convent. When the Vatican finally promoted his cause, the cabildo helped fund elaborate festivities totaling 2,000 pesos; this paid for, among other things, fireworks, the sermon, invitations, musicians, candles, and fountains of sweets typically reserved for viceregal or Episcopal entrances.[93]

Despite the Intendant's estimate in 1791 that the cabildo only needed to spend 504 pesos, 1 real on public ceremony, he actually underestimated costs. In 1788, the patron of fiestas spent 716 pesos, 2.5 reales on the cabildo's ceremonies.[94] The cost of

[92] Actas, 3 February 1769, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 437r; Actas, 6 February 1769, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 439v.
[93] Cuenta de los gastos de la función y público culto que en honor del Beato Sebastián de Aparicio hizo la Nobilísima Ciudad de Puebla por Dirección y mano de sus dos diputados Don José Bernardo Azpiros, y Don Ignacio Pérez de Salazar, 16 June 1792, AMP, LC 14, folios 68r-69r.
[94] Patrón de fiestas, 1788, AMP, LC 11, folios 54r-58v.

extraordinary events, moreover, continued to run high. The cabildo, for example, paid 3,066 pesos, 7 reales for Charles III's funerary catafalque in 1788.[95] The total costs for the *jura* of Charles IV are unfortunately unavailable, but the Intendant Manuel de Flon criticized the cabildo for excessiveness. In a written complaint to the viceroy, he stated that on refreshments alone, the cabildo spent over 5,241 pesos and 1,091 pesos in flowers.[96] For the viceregal entrance in 1803, the cabildo spent 15,188 pesos, 6 reales.[97]

In the second half of the century, the cabildo began celebrating new ceremonies in honor of the Bourbon monarchy, such as the birthdays and saint's day of the king and queen. By the 1760s, these had become annual events; in 1787, for example, the cabildo spent 36 pesos, one-half real on the feast day of Saint Charles.[98] These annual costs only amounted to a small fraction of overall expenditure, but contributed consistently to the cabildo's expenses on ceremony. Now that councilmen wore uniforms, however, they longer had to pay for costumes for extraordinary ceremonies and therefore did not require "tips," or "*propinas.*"

Despite small reductions, cyclical and extraordinary rituals continued to play a primary role in the local economy. Evidence suggests that councilmen profited from these ceremonies and extended their patronage by providing contracts to service providers. Skilled artisans and unskilled workers alike made money from the cabildo's

[95] Recibo, 1789, AMP, LC 20, folio 114r.
[96] Expediente formado en virtud de oficio del Señor Intendente, en que traslada al Ilustre Ayuntamiento la superior orden del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Revillagigedo sobre los gastos erogados en la proclamación de Nuestro Invicto Monarca el Señor Don Carlos IV, 1792, AMP, Expedientes 205, Legajo 2418, folios 201r-207r.
[97] Entrada del Virrey Don José de Iturrigay, 1803, AMP, LC 20, folios 207r-213r.
[98] This year, the cabildo spent 959 pesos, 2.5 reales on ceremony. Patron of fiestas, 1787, AMP, LC 10, folios 226v-230r.

periodic mounting of spectacles. Indigenous laborers, moreover, made small stipends off some of the events, in either reales or in meals. The cabildo purchased food and materials from merchants involved in the trans-Atlantic and Philippine trade and bought products from different regions throughout the colony. Councilmen, moreover, adopted particular families of artisans as special clients. The industry of ceremony helped the cabildo establish ties of dependency between state and society, increasing their own corporate and individual power while satisfying the material needs of the populace.

Colonial governments' patronage of ceremony is a topic that has been generally overlooked, but if Puebla is representative of overall patterns for other cities, the economic implications of this industry require further examination. The cabildo of Puebla spent close to one-quarter of its average annual expenditure on elaborate ceremonies. Despite the Crown's attempts to reduce costs, ceremony proved too ingrained in the local economy for serious changes to take effect. Ceremonies had didactic functions: they helped educate subjects regarding the values of Church and state and helped local leaders increase their power, but they also proved lucrative for councilmen, merchants, and *poblanos* throughout the social scale. Although by contemporary standards Puebla's ceremonial expenses seem excessive, for councilmen, going into debt, taking out loans to mount ceremonies, and spending thousands upon thousands of pesos on spectacle made rational sense. It was indeed "good business."

Similarly, in the following chapter I examine a seemingly "irrational," but commonplace characteristic of colonial ritual. Conflict proved endemic to Puebla's

public ceremonies. Councilmen argued with other individuals and corporations regarding placement in processions and seating arrangements, and defended an array of privileges that distinguished them as the political elite. Examined on the surface, these may appear to represent nothing more than silly spats, or regarded more seriously, squabbles over jurisdiction and honor. But, as we will see, these disputes played key roles in local struggles for power.

Chapter 7: Ritual and Conflict in Colonial Puebla: The Political Implications of Ceremonial Disputes, 1695-1750

Good Friday, the anniversary of Christ's crucifixion, constitutes the most solemn day of the Catholic calendar and in eighteenth-century Puebla, municipal councilmen marked the occasion with the ceremony known as the Adoration of the Holy Cross. For this ritual, councilmen and other attendees gazed upon a cross veiled in black and sang a hymn to the Savior. Afterwards, each individual approached the main altar to venerate the unveiled cross.[1] On Good Friday, poblanos, like all Catholics, contemplated Christ's passion and sacrifice and reaffirmed their commitment to the faith. In 1721, however, something went terribly wrong. A ritual that should have affirmed the strength of Puebla's Catholic community highlighted, instead, its disunity.

Tension first arose when the cathedral chapter refused to receive the procession of the Most Holy Burial in the main plaza and accept the royal standard from the lieutenant and nephew of the *alcalde mayor*, José Fernández Veytia y Linaje. Later, as members of the cathedral chapter approached the main altar to venerate the cross, they passed the benches occupied by the municipal council. The councilmen rose from their seats and bowed their heads in deference to the prelates but, according to the cabildo, the priests did not reciprocate the gesture. The archdeacon then sent a messenger to ask the lieutenant to have the cabildo remain standing throughout the entire ceremony. When the

[1] The ritual has essentially followed the same format since the fourteenth century and is known today as the Veneration of the Holy Cross. See Berard L. Marthaler, et. al, eds., *New Catholic Encyclopedia.* 2d edition, vol. 6 (Detroit: Gale, 2003), pp. 355-356.

lieutenant refused, priests began hurling insults and cabildo members stormed out of the cathedral.[2]

How should we understand these events? Documentation related to disputes over ceremonial protocol and comportment provides historians with means to reconstruct crucial aspects of colonial politics. Yet, despite the frequency with which ceremonies occasioned disturbances and/or controversy, few historians have concerned themselves with the political implications of these disputes. Scholars have, for the most part, treated them as products of a baroque obsession with honor, as mere anomalistic occurrences or, worst of all, ignored them completely.[3] Those who have ignored or de-emphasized conflict have taken a "functionalist" approach inspired initially by Emile Durkheim's contention that rituals functioned primarily to foster social cohesion. In this way, studies

[2] Actas, 11 April 1721, AMP, AC 40, folios 278v-281v; Actas, 24 May 1721, AMP, AC 40, folios 299-302v.

[3] Although the literature on colonial Latin American offers numerous examples, I can mention only a few here. In his monumental work on colonial Quito, John Leddy Phelan ties ceremonial conflict almost exclusively to honor, stating that an obsession with etiquette resulted from a "hypersensitivity" to one's place in society and suggested that the political elite were "feudal" in their concerns over precedence. See *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century: Bureaucratic Politics in the Spanish Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967). Rosalva Loreto López' article on the the cabildo's celebration in honor of the Immaculate Conception in seventeenth-century Puebla and Alfonso Martínez Rosales' article on the patron saints of colonial San Luis Potosí focus exclusively on the power of ceremony to foment cohesion, stimulate piety, reaffirm identities, and serve the state. See Martínez Rosalos, "Los patronos jurados de la ciudad de San Luis Potosí," in *Manifestaciones religiosas en el mundo colonial americano*, vol. 1, ed. Clara García Ayluardo and Manuel Ramos Medina (Mexico City: Condumex, 1993), pp. 107-123 and Rosalva Loreto López, "La fiesta de la Concepción y las identidades colectivas, Puebla (1619-1636)," in *Manifestaciones religiosas en el mundo colonial americano*, vol. 2, ed. Clara García Ayluardo and Manuel Ramos Medina (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1993-1994), pp. 87-104. In his survey of colonial Spanish American fiestas, Ángel López Cantos mentions examples of disputes from various cities throughout Spanish America, but only in passing. See his discussion of Corpus Christi in *Juegos, fiestas y diversiones en la América Española* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992), pp. 88-89. In *La plaza, el palacio, y el convento* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998), Antonio Rubial García discusses how ceremony provided a "safety-valve" for tension and how by representing different "estates," ritual celebrated hierarchy and strengthened the colonial order. Although he notes that uprisings often occurred during fiestas and that members of religious orders fought over their place in processions, he does not analyze the reasons and motivations for conflict to any extent.

of colonial Spanish American ceremonies have mainly centered on how ritual reinforced hierarchy, indoctrinated colonial subjects, and encouraged social solidarity.[4]

In recent years, the study of political ceremony has become somewhat of a sub-field in the historiography of medieval and early modern Europe, but even here scholars continue to ask how rituals encouraged solidarity, sidestepping or de-emphasizing the significance of conflict. Even scholars seemingly sensitive to conflict have referred to ceremonial disputes as a counterpoint to the "true" function of ritual. In his discussion of eighteenth-century Toulouse, Robert A. Schneider speculates that disagreement and disorder constituted a necessary risk in the planning of large-scale ceremonies. In fact, he suggests that this was part of ritual's appeal; participants could take pride in executing a ceremony without incident and this, in turn, could strengthen feelings of solidarity.[5] In his study of the French court of Henry III, Nicolas Le Roux argues that repeated conflicts undermined the Crown's plan to use ceremony as a vehicle for integrating the nobility and cementing ties of dependency. So, while Schneider regards conflict as a necessary counterpoint to measure the "success" of ritual, Le Roux regards disruption as an

[4] If not overtly functionalist in approach, the majority of works are overly descriptive and praiseful of the integrative capacity of colonial ceremony. This bent may stem from the fact that the majority of scholars have based their studies primarily on official contemporary accounts. These *relaciones* naturally emphasized cohesion and the loyalty that ceremony encouraged for the monarch. Antonio Bonet Correa, moreover, influenced art historians of colonial Mexico and in his widely citied article on fiestas he ignored incidences of conflict. See Antonio Bonet Correa, "La fiesta barroca como práctica del poder," in *El arte efímero en el mundo hispánico* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1983), pp. 45-78; Jaime Cuadrillero, ed., *Juegos de ingenio y agudeza: la pintura emblemática de la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Arte, 1994); Ernesto de la Torre Villar, "Las exequias de Felipe II en Nueva España," in *Historia y humanismo: Estudios en honor del profesor Dr. D. Valentín Vásquez de Prada*, ed. Jesús María Usunáriz Garayoa (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2000), pp. 243-257. For a discussion of functionalism, see Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 23-60.

[5] Robert A. Schneider, *Ceremonial City: Toulouse Observed: 1738-1780* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 144-147.

indicator of a ceremony's "failure."[6] James Kozoil's work on political conflict and countervailing rituals of deference in medieval France serves as a notable exception to the European historiography and has been signaled out by Philip Buc as one of the few historical studies that treats ritual "as part of the political reality." Buc criticizes the use of social science models in analyzing medieval ceremony for, among other reasons, their emphasis on solidarity at the expense of conflict.[7]

By giving short shrift to rituals that failed to foster social cohesion or legitimize authority, historians and art historians have displayed a bias for static models. Implicit in such scholarship is the idea that imperial rituals "reflected" society and, by repeating scripted behavior, helped to stem the tide of change. José Antonio Maravall emphasized how the seventeenth-century Spanish Habsburgs mistrusted novelty – both political and artistic – as bearing the seeds of potential disorder and how they used ceremony to promote stability.[8] Irving Leonard summed up this position best, declaring that, "The aim of this civilization was immobility": social, cultural, economic, and, of course, political.[9]

Yet, spectacle did not provide a static and exclusively harmonious model of society. Colonial ceremony often masked tears in the social fabric, but at times it also highlighted them. Instead of looking at disruptions in public ceremony as always constituting "failure" to create

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[6] Nicolas Le Roux, "The Politics of Festivals at the Court of the Last Valois," in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance,* ed. J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 101-117.
[7] Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1992); Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 305-307.
[8] José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure,* trans. Terry Cochran. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986 (1975)), p. 129.
[9] Irving A. Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 223.

cohesion, I consider here what these divergences actually accomplished. By placing disputes firmly in their social, political and economic contexts, scholars can explore the multiple functions of ceremony and its capacity for generating change. In colonial Spanish America, ceremonies did not merely reflect society; they transformed local political culture in subtle, but powerful ways.

Politics center on "the distribution of *valued* goods – income, power, prestige, honor, and the like – over which individuals and groups compete."[10] So, by their very nature, these inherently political ceremonies would involve an element of conflict. Even when narrowly examining ceremonies for how they enhanced the "honor" of participants, historians of colonial Spanish America have acknowledged that honor was relational and situational.[11] Honor related to ascribed status (whether Spanish, legitimate, noble, or Christian), but also derived from reputation, or one's recognition as virtuous. Although many elite members of society could attain honorable reputations, this form of prestige could not extend to everyone because, as political scientist Robert Jackman has noted, ". . . if everyone has the same prestige, the category itself loses meaning."[12] Ceremonies, therefore, provided arenas in which people could compete for a finite resource that enhanced their power. An honorable reputation achieved in the performance of ceremony could facilitate valuable social, economic, and political connections and help one to secure promotions in the imperial or ecclesiastical bureaucracy.

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[10] Robert Jackman, *Power Without Force: The Political Capacity of Nation States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), p. 26.
[11] Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, "Introduction," in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. 1-11; Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), esp. pp. 24-31.
[12] Robert Jackman, *Power Without Force*, p. 26.

In public ceremonies, people fought over honor, but they also struggled over less abstract issues. Although public ceremony is studied mainly by art historians and cultural historians, political and social historians have also long recognized that colonial bureaucrats defended their jurisdictions during ceremonies.[13] Because the Crown purposely blurred the boundaries between bureaucracies and encouraged reliance on the Council of the Indies and the king, jurisdictional controversy comprised an integral part of the political culture of the Spanish colonies. By encouraging decentralization within the colony, the Crown obtained different reports on the same issue and, by positioning itself as the arbiter of justice it fostered dependency on the metropolis.[14] Because the Crown institutionalized jurisdictional ambiguity, tensions over control and authority naturally spilled over into public view.

But, until recently, few scholars have gone beyond merely linking jurisdictional disputes with ceremonial conflict. Alejandro Cañeque, however, has provided a closer analysis of this relationship, claiming that because each jurisdiction felt compelled to defend its own authority, clashes were not only unavoidable, but necessary. Basing his discussion largely on contemporary political treatises, he argues that, "far from being odd anecdotes lacking in meaning, [ceremonial conflicts] were the embodiment itself of the production and negotiation of the relations between secular and ecclesiastical powers."[15] According to Cañeque, these disputes primarily took the form of "civil power" verses "secular power," and then, to a lesser extent, as conflicts between two clearly distinguishable corporations like the audiencia and cabildo of

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[13] See, for example, J. I. Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico, 1610-1670* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975).
[14] John Leddy Phelan, "Authority and Flexibility in the Spanish Bureacracy," *Administrative Science Quarterly* (1960), pp. 47-65.
[15] Alejandro Cañeque, "The King´s Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Seventeenth-Century New Spain," (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1999), pp. 347-348.

Mexico City. But, as we shall see in the case of the Adoration of the Holy Cross, political theory and local practice did not always correspond, nor did competitors always fit neatly into united blocks. Family networks and political alliances often transgressed established boundaries and individual interests sometimes trumped those of the corporation. Local political cultures proved far too complicated for an analysis limited exclusively to "jurisdiction."

The need to establish one's honor and the inherent jurisdictional tensions within the imperial bureaucracy laid the groundwork for disputes over ceremonial privileges. But scholars should not neglect the full political implications of these disputes by limiting discussion to these themes. The need to defend both jurisdiction and honor fueled disputes, but underlying material interests fueled disputes over honor and jurisdiction. Ritual conflicts generally followed a pattern whereby in the words of anthropologist Victor Turner, "individuals and groups concerned tried to exploit the varied, and often situationally conflicting, principles and values to their own ends." These ceremonial conflicts, or "social dramas" as Turner called them, illustrate the dialectical relationship between social, political, and economic processes and public ritual.[16] As an analysis of several disputes will illustrate, ceremonial struggles did not occur merely out of a baroque obsession with honor or concerns over jurisdiction, but often resulted from material struggles for power. In the 1760s and 1770s, the Crown installed new jurisdictions in Puebla, exacerbating tension between corporations. In this period, ceremonial conflicts conformed to the classic model of disputes between jurisdictions, or as an extension of jurisdictional disputes. Yet, throughout the entire eighteenth century,

[16] Victor Turner, *Anthropology of Performance* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1986), pp. 24, 37.

the instigators of ceremonial conflict did not aim to foster solidarity. They aimed to alter the political playing field to their advantage.

What lay behind the cabildo and the cathedral chapter's dispute during the Adoration of the Holy Cross? In the complaints issued to the audiencia and the Council of the Indies, both groups stressed the dishonor of their persons. By not bowing their heads in deference, cathedral chapter members failed in their urbanity and made councilmen appear subordinate. After being repeatedly told to stand, the lieutenant and nephew of the *alcalde mayor*, Fernández Veytia, informed the master of ceremonies that he represented the "vice patron" of the church. He stated that the ceremonial did not require the cabildo to remain standing and that this was a matter decided "a long time ago."[17]

Events took a nasty turn when a prelate stopped on his way to the altar to ask whether the decision not to stand for the cross had been made in Amsterdam, insinuating that the lieutenant of the *alcalde mayor* was a Protestant heretic. Another priest asked if in his native land they adored Jesus Christ in this fashion, and the lieutenant responded that they did, but that they did not adore priests, nor did priests wish to be adored like Christ.[18] While decrying his public humiliation to the Council of the Indies, the lieutenant took the opportunity to complain about how during ceremonies outside the cathedral its prelates sat in chairs when expressly prohibited from doing so. As the representative of

[17] Testimonio de los autos hechos y información dada por esta Nobilísima Ciudad sobre lo acontecido el Viernes Santo. . . AGI, México 821, unpaginated.
[18] *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

the patron of the church, the lieutenant resented being made to sit on a bench with the cabildo, while chapter members sat comfortably in chairs.[19]

Clearly, chapter members and councilmen sought to defend their honor and jurisdictional prerogatives. Both the cabildo and cathedral attempted to defend what contemporaries termed the "regalia" of their jurisdictions, and the prelates' attack on Lieutenant Fernández Veytia's piety certainly represented a public attack on his honor. The lieutenant had no alternative but to complain to the Crown. In the early modern Iberian world, public humiliation had political implications, and contemporaries at times declared war by embarrassing rivals publicly. If a man or a corporation failed to seek recourse for a public slight, it was the same as admitting fault and accepting dishonor.[20] For this reason, colonial elites usually sought revenge when publicly defamed.

In 1699, for example, the commissioner of the Inquisition argued with the cathedral's judge, Juan de Jáuregui y Barcena, over plans for a feast day celebration in honor of Saint Peter. Jáuregui treated ceremonies as fields for waging political battles and used the feast day of Saint Peter to contest whether the commissioner could have representatives in indigenous villages. Spanish law exempted native people from being tried by the tribunal and the commissioner claimed that Jáuregui y Barcena hated him for placing operatives in surrounding indigenous communities.[21]

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[19] Actas, 24 May 1721, AMP, AC 40, folio 299r.
[20] See William Ian Miller, *Humiliation: and Other Essay on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
[21] El Señor Inquisidor Fiscal de este Santo Oficio contra el Doctor Juan de Jáuregui y Barcena, AGN, Inquisición 711, Expediente 2, folios 108-200.

The cathedral judge criticized the tribunal's ostentatious plans as inappropriate, but the commissioner countered that because the cathedral chapter held the tribunal in low regard, it could not maintain the respect of the plebeians and therefore needed to win them over with an elaborate fête. For the procession, the commissioner sought to awe the masses by driving an elegant horse-drawn carriage and inviting all of the city's religious communities and confraternities to attend. Jáuregui y Barcena, however, used his power to destroy the ceremony and punish the commissioner for overstepping his bounds. He threatened all confraternity members with excommunication if they attended. It is small wonder that most failed to show up.[22]

In this symbolic warfare, rivals tried to make each other appear subordinate. The commissioner called the cathedral canon José de Gómez de la Parra to his house to testify regarding the feast day events, and sought to place the prelate, an ally of Jáuregui, at a symbolic disadvantage. Municipal councilmen had the privilege of giving testimony in their homes and Gómez de la Parra believed he deserved the same consideration, sending word that he would not go the commissioner's house because "he was not Jewish, but rather a priest." He also relayed that if the commissioner needed his assistance, he should instead come to see him at *his* home.[23] In the early modern Atlantic world, people revealed their status through signs of deference; depending on the context, these gestures could either communicate respect, or the subordination and submission of the acting

[22] *Ibid.*, 108r-200r.
[23] *Ibid.*, 168r. The full quote reads. "a que respondio dicho Docotor alterándose que no era judio, sino Prebendado, y que así, si se ofrecía negocio fuese el Comisario a su casa, que el no habia de venir por no hacer ejemplar a que los Prebendados fuesen a casa del Comisario cuando tubiere negocio, sino el Comisario fuese a casa de los Prebendados. . . "

party. Because subjects scrutinized public behavior to determine status, when the commissioner again insisted that the canon go to his house to give testimony, he again refused. Instead, he sent the commissioner a list of acceptable dates on which to meet. These were, however, all holidays on which a meeting would have been impossible.[24]

Just as Jáuregui y Barcena sought to defend the diocese's jurisdiction over indigenous communities, the lieutenant of the *alcalde mayor* sought to defend the authority of the "vice-patron" of the church. Both the commissioner and doctoral canon felt dishonored publicly, just as the *regidor*es and lieutenant felt humiliated by the cathedral's lack of reverence for royal authority. Yet, the concepts of jurisdiction and honor do not capture fully the complex nature of the struggles over the Good Friday ceremony. In order to understand the cathedral chapter's reaction to the cabildo and Fernández Veytia´s attack on the seating arrangements of the prelates, I first want to examine the controversial role played by his uncle, the *alcalde mayor* Juan José de Veytia Linaje.

In 1697, Veytia became the Superintendent of the *Alcabala*, or royal tax on purchases and sales. Councilmen had previously collected the tax for the Crown and in this way, exempted themselves and their allies from paying it.[25] The councilman in charge of supervising the collection benefited handsomely from his role. Several councilmen participated directly in the Asian trade and all had connections with important merchants who traded in luxury items from Europe and the Philippines.

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[24] *Ibid.*, folios 167v-169v.
[25] Gustavo Rafael Alfaro Ramírez, "La lucha por el control del gobierno urbano en la época colonial. El Cabildo de la Puebla de los Ángeles, 1670-1723," (master's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), p. 156 n. 95.

Because councilmen so coveted this position, the cabildo had a system whereby they took turns overseeing the *alcabala* collection. Before the Crown appointed Veytia to supervise the collection, Pedro de Jáuregui y Barcena, the brother of the *provisor*, had been awaiting his turn as next in line. When in 1699 Veytia also became *alcalde mayor*, Pedro de Jáuregui y Barcena protested by resigning his seat on the council.

The tension between the two eventually developed into a family feud between Veytia and three Jáuregui y Barcena brothers. Pedro's brother, Juan de Jáuregui y Barcena, served as the judge of the cathedral chapter, but he also had another brother, Antonio, who served as the priest to the cathedral parish. In 1721 Veytia reflected upon his relationship with the three brothers and concluded that their hatred for him derived from Councilman Pedro de Jáuregui's loss of the collection in 1697.[26]

Perhaps not coincidentally, only one year after Veytia took office as *alcalde mayor*, the cabildo and cathedral chapter began squabbling over ceremonial prerogatives. In 1700, during the feast-day masses for Saint Theresa and Saint Roche, upon orders from the cathedral chapter on which Juan de Jáuregui sat, the officiating priests denied councilmen "the ceremony of peace," a rite that consisted of embracing municipal leaders and presenting them with a sacred image to kiss. Not surprisingly, this ritual represented the union of the church and local leaders.[27] Fighting over ceremonial protocol extended into the next year when, just six days before the funerary honors for Charles II, at the litanies in the Convent of the Most Holy Trinity and the Convent of Saint Jerome,

[26] Juan José de Veytia y Linaje to the Council of the Indies, Puebla, 14 July 1722, AGI, México 836, folios 286r-290r.
[27] Actas, 18 October 1700, AMP, AC 34, folios 558r-558v.

representatives of the cabildo arrived with carpeted benches only to find their spaces already occupied by seats reserved for members of the cathedral chapter. To add insult to injury, the seats of cathedral chapter did not consist of benches, but of backed chairs; by taking this liberty, the cathedral chapter overstepped its privileges and insulted the cabildo. Finally, the chapter did not only reserve these chairs for themselves, but allowed lower clergy to sit in them as well. Taking this all as a grave affront, the *regidores* suspended attendance at both functions, consulted lawyers from the royal audiencia, and even discussed having their court representative in Spain schedule an audience with the king to denounce the insult.[28]

In 1709, the Council of the Indies awarded the *alcalde mayor* Veytia y Linaje the title of honorary advisor, or *consejero*, to the Council and in 1711 made him a full advisor.[29] With these titles came the privilege of sitting in a chair adorned with a tapestry and of using a cushion during public functions. Although Bishop Nogales Dávila did not regard this as an infringement on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Pedro's brother Juan de Jáuregui y Barcena, now archdeacon, did, and apparently exercised more influence over the chapter than the bishop. In December 1710, another cédula arrived confirming all *consejero* privileges except for the use of a cushion. One month later, however, the cathedral chapter had yet to abide. In a letter dated 10 January 1711, however, the *alcalde mayor* complained that Juan de Jáuregui y Barcena, now bishop-elect of Caracas, had declared himself his "enemy" and that despite the "mortification" of the bishop, the

[28] Actas, 3 May 1701, AMP, AC 34, folios 665r-67r.
[29] Juramento del cargo de consejero honorífico, AHN, Legajo 733; Consejero del Consejo de Indias Togado, licencia para jurar en manos del Obispo de Puebla, AGS, Legajo 436, folio 101r.

chapter's other members followed his lead.[30] In 1711, the bishop swore Veytia y Linaje into office as a full, or "robed," *consejero,* eradicating all doubt regarding his right to use a chair, cushion, and tapestry. The chapter, however, argued that if Veytia y Linaje enjoyed these privileges, they too needed to sit in chairs. In a cédula dated 10 February 1714, the chapter finally won its case. From then on, chapter members had the privilege of using a chair, but only in the company of the *consejero* or "someone of his same caliber."[31]

The cathedral defeated the cabildo by arguing that ceremonial parity mirrored jurisdictional parity and that because the Spanish Empire rested upon the foundations of both Church and State, diocesan leaders needed to exercise the same privileges as the city's *alcalde mayor*. Indeed, documentation related to ceremonial disputes constantly refers to the importance of maintaining parity for the "luster of both majesties." Yet, underneath the surface of this seemingly simple case of jurisdictional conflict, laid a host of other considerations, not least of which was the need for revenge.

Although Jáuregui y Barcena had been named bishop of Caracas as early as 1710, he delayed assuming his post for a number of years. In 1714, the same year that the dispute over seating concluded, "someone" informed the Crown that Juan de Jáuregui had postponed his resignation fearing that the Archduke Charles would not honor his appointment if he defeated Philip V in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). Because the complaint cast doubt on the archdeacon's loyalty, the Crown withdrew his

[30] El Deán y Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia de la Puebla de los Ángeles, con Juan Jóse de Veytia Linaje, ministro de este Consejo y *alcalde mayor* . . . 1711, AGI, Escribanía 1053c, 1r-13v.
[31] King to the viceroy, Madrid, 10 February 1714, AMP, RC 12, folios 179r-181r.

appointment and irreparably damaged his career. Jáuregui y Barcena blamed his old enemy, the *alcalde mayor* Veytia y Linaje.[32]

Juan de Jáuregui portrayed himself as defender the cathedral's jurisdiction, but since the bishop did not regard Veytia y Linaje's privileges as an infringement on ecclesiastical authority, it seems that a familial vendetta also helped to drive the dispute over Veytia's *consejero* privileges. In 1721, it was not Juan who came head to head with the lieutenant and nephew of the *alcalde mayor*, but Antonio de Jáuregui y Barcena, the third brother who now served as the Vicar General and judge for the cathedral chapter. Veytia believed that this Jáuregui brother blamed him for Pedro's loss of the *alcabala* collection in 1697 and for Juan's loss of the bishopric of Caracas in 1714.

Although these issues alone may have motivated Antonio de Jáuregui to confront Veytia, a more recent but related issue reactivated old feelings. In 1698, Veytia first complained to the Council of the Indies that prelates had been illegally engaging in commerce and refusing to pay the *alcabala* tax.[33] Because ceremonies did not exist independent of the webs of social, economic, and political relationships, the chapter's early attacks on the ceremonial privileges of the cabildo may have sprung from this very material preoccupation and may have also increased Juan de Jáuregui's resentment over Pedro's loss of the collection.

When Jáuregui y Barcena used ritual to avenge his family's honor and to protect his allies' material interests, he acted according to the unwritten rules of the political

[32] Cuaderno perteneciente y mandado por S.M. en sus Reales Cédulas, 1722, AGI, México 835, folios 489r-510v.
[33] Juan José de Veytia y Linaje to the Council of the Indies, 8 August 1720, AGI, México 835, folios 9r-13r.

culture; by questioning ritual protocol and by engaging in conflict ritualistically, he followed a pattern established gradually over centuries. According to sociologist Norbert Elias, by the sixteenth century, early modern states had successfully established "proper" rules of behavior that provided elites with a sense of social discipline. The state encouraged individuals to settle grievances through formal institutions and in this way, abated conflict and the potential for political disorder. In Spain, participation in court ceremonial served a fundamental role in the "civilizing process;" by following the rules of ritual etiquette, participants learned to control their more rancorous impulses. As noted by J.H. Elliot, Madrid served as the "exemplary centre," and established the rules of ritual etiquette for elites throughout the empire.[34]

Ritual also played a role in this process by providing a controlled environment for conflict to ensue. In the seventeenth century, poblano elites continued to engage in duels, but by the eighteenth century, this practice had significantly waned.[35] Elites now generally settled scores in ways that minimized the potential for violence. Law 41, Book 3, Title 15 of the *Recopilación de las leyes de los reynos de las Indias* specifically states that any disagreements over ceremony involving high-level bureaucrats should not be

[34] J.H. Elliot, "The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs: A Peculiar Institution?," in *Spain and Its World: Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 147. Also see Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford:Blackwell, 2000) and *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

[35] Writing about Buenos Aires, Lyman Johnson argues that while elites had been prone to duel in the past, by the late eighteenth-century plebeians were more likely to defend their honor with violence. See "Dangerous Words, Provocative Gestures, Violent Acts: The disputed Hierarchies of Plebeians Life in Colonial Buenos Aires,"in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), pp. 127-151.

handled individually, but by the Council of the Indies.[36] The Crown wanted elites to depend on the state to settle matters of justice, but as the many prescriptions and proscriptions for ritual under Title 15 of the *Recopilación* reveal, imperial officials understood ritual as a primary ground for political competition. The Crown, therefore, only sought to place parameters on acceptable practices and to encourage competitors to take their cases to court.

The colonial history of Puebla is filled with examples of elites using ceremony to advance their own interests. Incidences from the political careers of two *alguaciles mayores* serve as cases in point. Pedro Mendoza y Escalante left Spain for Puebla in 1695, where he soon married a wealthy local woman, obtained the monopoly over the supply of lamb's meat, and by 1702, began his bureaucratic career as an *alguacil mayor*.[37] Only five months after taking over the position, Mendoza openly questioned the *alférez mayor*, the Marquis of Altamira's right to hold the best place in civil and religious processions and to sit in the most honored seat during masses. Although Book 3, Title 15, Law 73 of the *Recopilación* granted these privileges to the *alguacil mayor*, the royal standard bearers of Puebla had enjoyed these prerogatives for more than 70 years. The same law specified, moreover, that *alguaciles* should only exercise the privilege in localities where no other arrangements had been made.[38] Cities throughout the empire had their own customs regarding precedence. In Mexico City, for example,

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[36] Spain, *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Julián de Paredes, 1681), folio 69.
[37] For biographical information on Pedro Mendoza y Escalante, see Gustavo Rafael Alfaro Ramírez, "¿Quién encarceló al *alguacil* mayor de Puebla? La vida, los negocios y el poder de Don Pedro de Mendoza y Escalante, 1695-1740," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana,* 17 (1997), pp. 31-61.
[38] Spain, *Recopilación de leyes*, folio 72.

the cabildo's senior *regidor* always held the privileged place in processions, regardless of whether he also served as an *alguacil mayor*.[39]

Mendoza y Escalante clearly wished to cultivate an honorable reputation, and in the Mediterranean world, elites often acquired honor by taking it from someone else. When Spanish immigrants arrived in the colonies, they could not draw on previous examples of virtuous behavior, nor did they usually have a plethora of people who knew them in the Old World and could therefore attest to their honor. Because contemporaries imbued seating arrangements and places in processions with cultural meanings that defined their status in society, Mendoza y Escalante may have regarded a ceremonial challenge as a useful way to strengthen his position.[40]

Yet, specific developments likely triggered Mendoza's actions. Only five years after arriving in Puebla, the *alguacil* made enemies of many prominent members of the community, including two councilmen. In 1700, he wanted to prohibit all merchants from selling lamb within the city and offered the cabildo 200 pesos as annual rent for each of its municipal slaughterhouses. The *alférez mayor* already rented one of the thirteen houses, as did the *regidor* Francisco de Torija, and the cabildo used access to the slaughterhouses as a form of patronage. Yet, despite the cabildo's attempts to curb Mendoza's ambition, the viceroy granted him exclusive control over all of the city's slaughterhouses. Although new to the Indies, Mendoza's uncle, Juan de Escalante y

[39] Francisco de Gatica Zerda, *Ordenanças de la Muy Noble, y Muy Leal Ciudad de Mexico, cabeça de los reynos de la Nueva-España* (Mexico City: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1683), folio 8; Law 17.
[40] Lyman Jonson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, "Introduction," pp. 3-4

Mendoza, currently served as an *oidor*, or judge, on the audiencia of Mexico City and likely influenced the viceroy's decision.

Animosity between the *alguacil* and the *alférez* surely grew from this struggle. To make matters worse, in 1702 the Marquis married Mendoza's sister-in-law. The parents of these two sisters had recently passed away and according to historian Gustavo Alfaro, the *alguacil* probably resented having to provide a dowry and share the inheritance with the marquis.[41] By going after Altamira's privileged place in public ceremonies, the *alguacil* may have wished to remind the marquis of his influence within the audiencia. Empowered by a court ruling, Pedro Mendoza y Escalante usurped Altamira's role in public ceremonies during the last two months of 1702.[42]

Perhaps not coincidentally, the *alférez* won back his position only after making peace with the *alguacil*. According to Victor Turner, "ritual breaches," or the failure to follow "regular norm-governed behavior," often require rituals of reconciliation.[43] In July 1703, the marquis served as the godfather of one of Mendoza's daughters and by October, he reestablished his place in public functions. Reconciliation between the *alguacil* and the *alférez*' could have been achieved through litigation – a process that, according to some anthropologists, constitutes a ritual in itself.[44] In this case, a sacred rite cemented the peace. Mendoza´s control of the slaughterhouses and his magnanimity

[41] Alfaro Ramírez, "¿Quién encarceló al *alguacil* mayor de Puebla?," pp. 31-61.
[42] Actas, 13-14 November 1702, AMP, AC 35, folios 122v-126r.
[43] Victor Turner, *Art of Performance*, pp. 34-35.
[44] Comparing rites of law courts with royal rituals, David Kertzer has argued that both are rather similar: "In both cases, the image of sacrality, of legitimacy, is fostered through ritual, while aggressive behavior is sharply contained and lines of authority bolstered." This same observation can be made when comparing a legal process to a sacred rite of passage. See David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, p. 132.

towards Altamira defined him as the patron and person with the most authority. The baptismal rite, moreover, helped reconcile the two, thereby containing a potentially explosive situation.

Seven decades of practice established the *alférez mayor*'s location in public ceremonies, making it virtually impossible for Mendoza to successfully challenge his claims to it, at least in the long term. Nevertheless, the *alguacil* challenged Altamira in order to prove himself a serious threat; Mendoza, in effect, illustrated that he had the resources to dishonor Altamira publicly and involve him in a lengthy and costly civil case. Four years later, the *alguacil* would use a similar strategy to attack another rival. In October 1707, the daughter of the *regidor* Joseph de Urosa died and on the morning before the funeral, the cabildo met to discuss, among other things, how they would participate in the event. The cabildo had a long-standing obligation to participate in the funerals of councilmen's family members. They attended under maces, wore black mourning capes, carried the deceased from the patio of their homes to their last resting place inside one of the city's many churches, and once inside, they lowered the body into its tomb. Mendoza questioned whether Charles II's Pragmatic of 1693 prohibited the cabildo from attending funerals under maces (i.e. as a corporation) and insisted that a vote be taken. The four councilmen in attendance suggested that the cabildo abide by an agreement made on 16 March 1702 to follow the example set by the capital and attend funerals of cabildo members and their immediate families in formal mourning attire, as a corporation. Mendoza y Escalante, however, asked for written testimony of the decision,

insinuating that he would research the legality of the practice and have the audiencia decide on the matter.[45]

Was Mendoza's apparent interest in the Royal Pragmatic evidence of loyalty to His Majesty, or was he motivated by something else? In 1703, the *alguacil*'s term as the purveyor of mutton came to an end. Because the *Recopilación de las leyes de Indias* expressly prohibited *regidor*es from overseeing urban monopolies, the cabildo could not renew his contract. Yet, the *alguacil* found a way around the law by using his cousin as the front man. Because of his influence with the audiencia, the *regidor*es and *alcalde mayor* had allowed him to work as the cabildo's *procurador mayor*, or legal representative, and let him have his way on most issues. In 1707, Mendoza increased his power by becoming the purveyor of beef to the city. Because the sale of beef constituted an urban monopoly, the *Recopilación* prohibited Mendoza from participating in this industry. By this time, few seemed willing to challenge the formidable *alguacil*.[46]

Urosa, however, did challenge Mendoza by questioning his legal right to act as the purveyor of meat and by leading a movement to force him to pay past-due rent on the city's various slaughterhouses. Urosa moved against Mendoza with the support of two other *regidor*es, Lucas de Guadalajara and Juan Antonio del Rio. In September and October of 1707, Urosa repeatedly attacked Mendoza y Escalante.[47] When Urosa's daughter died, the *alguacil* decided to strike back. Perhaps Mendoza simply wished to scare his rival into backing down, but regardless of his motivation, Urosa took it as a

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[45] Actas, October 1707, AMP, AC 35, folio 558-559. See also Actas, 16 March 1702, AMP, AC 35, folio 26v.
[46] Alfaro Ramírez, "¿Quién encarceló al *alguacil mayor* de Puebla?," pp. 31-61.
[47] Actas, 27 September 1707, AMP, AC 35, folios 547r-550; Actas, 15 October 1707, AMP, AC 35, folios 555v-556r.

declaration of war. At the cabildo's next meeting, Urosa agreed to go to Mexico to defend the city against a civil suit enacted by Mendoza. When he accepted the commission, he made a revealing statement. According to the cabildo's scribe, he specified that he would work to defend the city despite "undergoing such recent sorrow [over] the death of one of his daughters."[48] Instead of forcing Urosa to cease his campaign, Mendoza's strike transformed the grieving *regidor* into a more determined and bitter rival.

Conflict over ceremonial protocol could severely affect councilmen's stances on key issues. The two *regidor*es never overcame their feelings of animosity and in 1710, when plebeians rose up because Mendoza had allegedly sold meat from sick animals, the *alcalde ordinario*, with the assistance of Joseph de Urosa´s son Pedro, announced that for the time being, people could buy meat from whomever they chose. Mendoza, of course, complained vigorously, but as the 1710s progressed, Veytia y Linaje proved less willing to ignore his abuses of authority.[49] Only after a viceregal order arrived did councilmen force the city's residents to buy their meat from Mendoza's authorized shop. In 1712, Urosa's key ally, Antonio del Rio, contested Mendoza y Escalante's right to act as meat purveyor and in August of this same year, Mendoza y Escalante used his power as *alguacil* to have him thrown in jail.[50] Although Urosa's role in this particular struggle is

[48] Actas, 10 November 1707, AMP, AC 35, folios 562v-563r. Urosa "dijo que desde luego admite el nombramiento de comisario para ir a la ciudad de México a la defensa de este litígio no obstante de hallarse con la pena tan reciente de la muerte de una hija suya. . . ."
[49] Actas, 26 August 1710, AMP, AC 36, folios 257v-264r.
[50] Actas, 30 July 1712, AMP, AC 37, folio 94r-94v.

unclear, there is some evidence of his involvement; one month after del Rio's detention, Urosa had to seek asylum in the cathedral to avoid also being jailed.[51]

In the ceremonial idiom of colonial Spanish America, questioning a rival's right to a particular place in a public ceremony, his role in the organization of an event, or whether he merited certain honors constituted a serious challenge. These types of challenges undermined an opponent's authority in other areas of activity and served ambitious *regidor*es well. Ceremony, therefore, did not function as something tangential to politics, but as an integral part of the political process.

As the case of Mendoza y Escalante overtly indicates, ceremonial conflict played just as vital a role in power struggles inside corporations, as it did in struggles between corporations. Later in the century, in a case highly reminiscent of the scandals involving Mendoza y Escalante, another *alguacil mayor* also used ritual protocol to further his career. Despite the royal prohibition against councilmen overseeing town monopolies, both worked as purveyors of meat and this lucrative activity figured prominently in their struggles for power and their related disputes over ceremony.

In 1739, Vicente Bueno de la Borbolla purchased the exclusive right to supply beef to the city for a period of three years and in 1740, he purchased and assumed the position of *alguacil mayor*. Bueno de la Borbolla's term as the purveyor of beef ended in 1742, but as frequently happened, the city had difficulty finding someone willing to take on the difficult job or with the capital necessary to do it. The cabildo, therefore, made an

[51] Unfortunately, I could only glean this from one curious phrase. At the beginning of cabildo minutes, the scribe always jotted down which councilmen were in attendance and which were absent, noting their reasons with "out of town," "busy on his hacienda," or "sick." On this day, he wrote "refugiado en la Santa Iglesia" next to Urosa's name. Actas, 27 August 1712, AMP, AC 37, folio 103r.

exception to the rule, and the *alguacil mayor* continued to supply meat to the city.[52] Bueno de la Borbolla claimed, however, that he had lost money during his previous term as purveyor. For this reason, and because he purchased the position of *alguacil mayor*, he had not anticipated renewing his contract and had failed to buy new livestock.[53] Desperate, the cabildo consulted the viceroy and in 1743, received permission to take out a massive loan to buy livestock and revamp the city's slaughterhouses.

Bueno de la Borbolla went to see Bishop Pantaleón Álvarez y Abreu personally and acquired ten 3,000-peso loans from ten different *capellanías*. The *alguacil* used his wife's dowry as collateral, but the other *regidor*es refused to use any of their personal property to guarantee the loan. By May of 1745, the *regidor*es had accused Bueno de la Borbolla of mismanagement. The money had been spent, but the *alguacil*'s accounts did not add up. The cabildo tried to convince the audiencia and Council of the Indies that Bueno de la Borbolla should pay back the entire loan, while the *alguacil*, of course, argued that the cabildo should bear full responsibility.

This disagreement led to a generalized state of panic. On 19 May 1745, the cathedral's *juez de testamentos* announced that if the cabildo did not pay back the entire loan in ten days, he would have its property seized. On 22 May, the cabildo sent two representatives to beg Bishop Álvarez y Abreu to grant a grace period. The bishop, however, refused the request, stating that he was unwilling to take the financial risk. In a dramatic move, the bishop then informed the cabildo that Borbolla had only a few hours

[52] Libro que contiene las copias de las escrituras de censos principales que reconoce sobre sus propios y rentas esta Nobilísima Ciudad, 1770, AMP, LV 9, folio 27v.
[53] *Ibid.*, 33r-37v.

to repay the money. In reaction to the bishop's warning, the cabildo seized Bueno de la Borbolla's property and placed him under arrest. Eventually, the *regidor* repaid 4,000 pesos, and made arrangements to repay 18,500 pesos of the loan. [54]

Ceremony played a strategic role in the dispute. The cathedral chapter, for example, used its ceremonial prerogatives to harass the cabildo into paying. At a council meeting on 19 April 1745, the *regidor*es discussed how at the previous Adoration of the Holy Cross, the cathedral chapter did not open the main door, thereby forcing councilmen to enter through a smaller door cut into the main one, known as the *póstigo*. They complained, moreover, that at many recent events the cathedral chapter had not only failed to open the main door, but had also neglected to send two representatives out to receive them.[55]

The dean and bishop-elect of Oaxaca, Diego Felipe Gómez de Angulo, later explained that he had not known that the cabildo customarily entered through the main door and that if the door were closed, it was surely to prevent wind from entering.[56] Although it is unclear whether the cathedral chapter and cabildo shared the same understanding regarding the significance of the *póstigo*, there can be little doubt that the cathedral set out to insult the cabildo. Custom mandated that for all religious functions, two cathedral chapter members greet councilmen in the plaza, to then escort them inside the building.[57] This was standard etiquette. When representatives from the cathedral

[54] *Ibid.*, folios 118v-119v.
[55] Actas, 19 April 1745, AMP-BNAH, AC 46, folios 67v-68v.
[56] *Ibid.*, folios 67v-68v.
[57] Councilmen expected all of the city's religious institutions to send representatives to greet them as they arrived for *fiestas de tabla*. See Testimonio relativo a los privilegios de esta Nobilísima Ciudad y demás de lo que expresa, AMP, RC 5, folio 585r.

arrived at cabildo meetings, two councilmen always greeted them outside the palace to then lead them inside the meeting room.

The cabildo, moreover, noted that the cathedral chapter had manifested its "contempt" in a variety of other ways. Councilmen complained that when they rose and bowed their heads in reverence to the prelates as they approached the main altar for the Adoration, they turned their faces away from the cabildo. Furthermore, when a sick councilman lacked the strength to remain standing, the archdeacon ordered him to rise. Finally, councilmen complained that the cathedral allowed other corporations to use benches during public functions, and that that this was a privilege reserved exclusively for the cabildo.[58] The dispute continued into March 1746, when councilmen arrived at the cathedral only to find the main door closed. On 12 May, the cathedral chapter heightened tension by ordering the municipal council's benches moved from their customary location to a far corner of the cathedral.[59]

Given the timing of the insults, the cathedral more than likely wished to hound the cabildo into repaying the loan. Therefore, for those involved in the dispute, ceremony became a primary tool of negotiation. Ceremony, however, played such a central role in the political culture that consciously used or not, matters of protocol figured prominently in struggles for power.

Contesting overspending on viceregal entrances, for example, likely benefited Bueno de la Borbolla's case against the cabildo. In 1744, the *alguacil* informed the

[58] Actas, 19 April 1745, AMP-BNAH, AC 46, folios 67v-68v.
[59] Actas, 24 March 1746, AMP-BNAH, AC 46, folios 206r-207r; Actas, 12 May 1746, AMP-BNAH, AC 46, folios 222r-223r.

Council of the Indies that the cabildo had surpassed the royally prescribed ceiling for the entrances of the Duke of the Conquest (1739) and the Count of Fuenclara (1742). He cited a cédula issued in 1724 that permitted the cabildo to spend only 3,000 pesos from the *propios*, the rental income from the cabildo's urban property. Early in the century, the government had found itself engulfed in entrance-related debt, and the Count of Montezuma allowed the cabildo to use income from the renting out of the unclaimed *ejido* land (community property) on the outskirts of the city. In 1739, councilmen could not meet costs with the meager 3,000 pesos, and so rationalized the *ejido* rents as a separate fund, especially designated for viceregal entrances. In 1742, the *regidor* Guillermo Saenz de Enciso organized the majority of the entrance ceremony and went over in costs by 2,021 pesos and 6.5 reales. After the council refused to reimburse him, the viceroy ordered the cabildo to pay off his debt with the income from *ejido* land.

Vicente Bueno de la Borbolla recognized an opportunity to improve his standing with the Crown. He had, after all, consistently displayed guile and foresight while building his career. In 1736, he fathered an illegitimate daughter. Likely fearing social and professional repercussions, he maintained her financially, but never acknowledged her publicly. In 1739, he moved from the slaughterhouse business to the municipal council and in 1743, he asked that the title of "*alguacil de guerra*" be made part of his regalia. Although the viceroy initially denied the request, the *alguacil* appealed the case to the Council of the Indies. Seeing that Pedro Mendoza y Escalante had established the precedent in 1717, the Council finally awarded him the privilege two years later. By the

end of 1746, he made plans to leave Puebla for Nuevo Leon to assume the post of governor.[60] Although how he planned to finance the move is unclear, he may have used the loan and/or revenues from the beef monopoly.

What is clear, however, is that he retained the Crown's favor by informing on his fellow councilmen. On 2 July 1743, while acting as the *procurador mayor,* Bueno de la Borbolla accused the *regidor*es Juan de Micieses and Guillermo Saenz de Enciso, the commissioners for the entrance ceremony of the Count of Fuenclara, of profiting by inflating the costs of services and supplies. Yet, the *alguacil* may have had personal reasons to attack the commissioners. For the bullfights that accompanied public ceremonies, the head of the beef monopoly always provided the cabildo with free bulls. Bueno de la Borbolla served as the meat purveyor in 1743 and believed that Guillermo Saenz de Enciso purchased bulls from someone else as a way of insulting him. The other *regidor*es regarded the *alguacil*'s accusations of mismanagement to be specious at best but, in the end, decided to let the audiencia decide on the matter. When the decision came back in favor of Saenz de Enciso, the *alguacil* appealed it to the Council of the Indies.[61]

Whether calculated or not, the accusations likely benefited the *alguacil*'s political career. First of all, the report made Bueno de la Borbolla appear responsible and as

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[60] For a discussion of how Justa Rufina Bueno de la Borbolla tried to erase her illegitimacy see Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets*, pp. 147-149; Vicente Bueno de la Borbolla, Alguacil Mayor de la Ciudad de Puebla, solicita que se le otorgue además el título de Alguacil Mayor de Guerra, 1745, AGN, Oficios Vendibles y Renunciables, Vol. 20, Expediente 8, folios 338r-363v. On 9 December 1746, the *alguacil* informed the cabildo that he would be leaving for Nuevo Leon. See Actas, 9 December 1746, AMP-BNAH, AC 46, folio 325r.

[61] Actas, 2 July 1743, AMP-BNAH, AC 45, folios 199r-120r; Actas, 2 August 1743, AMP-BNAH, AC 45, folio 142v; Actas, 1 September 1743, AMP-BNAH, AC 45, folios 156v-159r.

someone disinterested enough to serve as governor of a lucrative mining region. Secondly, it allowed him to attack Guillermo Saenz de Enciso directly. The cabildo put Saenz de Enciso and Bueno de la Borbolla in charge of acquiring the loan from the cathedral, but at the last minute Saenz de Enciso backed out. This may have increased the *alguacil*'s resentment. Indeed, the *alguacil* seemed motivated by a thirst for revenge. He did not just complain about his fellow councilman, but requested that the Crown force them to personally reimburse the money diverted from the *ejidos*, and then use this fund to buy grain for the poor.[62]

Although Puebla had been suffering from serious draught, the suggestion seemed intended more to wound the *regidor*es than to aid the suffering poor. Expenses for entrances did not only include specific costs of the actual ceremony, but included food and other housing-related costs as well. Normally, the viceroy and his entourage stayed in Puebla between three and four days but, in 1740, the Duke of the Conquest's son, Pedro de Castro y Figueroa, became gravely ill and had to recuperate in Puebla for nearly two months. At the end of this period, the cabildo decided to use more money from the *ejidos* to accompany Castro y Figueroa to Mexico City, to "place him within sight of his father."[63] The cost of the entrance exceeded the 3,000-peso limit by approximately 17,000 pesos. In his complaint to the Council of the Indies, Bueno de la Borbolla suggested that all of the *regidor*es who approved the use of the *ejido* fund be obligated to

[62] Vicente Bueno de la Borbolla to the Council of the Indies, Puebla, n.d., AGI, México 821, unpaginated.
[63] Testimonio del cabildo que esta Muy Noble y Muy Leal ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles celebró el Jueves en la noche, 4 de agosto del año de 1740, en que se dieron varias providencias . . . sobre el recibimiento y cortejo en el hospedaje del Excelentísimo Señor Marqués de Gracia Real, Puebla, 1 October 1740, AMP, RC 9, folios 343r-351r. The cabildo planned to escora him to Mexico "hasta colocarle a la vista de su padre, haciendo los gastos de su transporte según se habia propuesto, y con la mayor decencia correspondiente a los deseos de la Ciudad."

pay the difference. The Council of the Indies agreed and, in a cédula dated 1 February 1746, the king ordered that the *regidor*es who approved the measure pay the 17,000-peso difference and that the two commissioners in charge of the Count of Fuenclara's entrance pay the 2,221-peso deficit with their own money.[64]

As the audiencia and Council judges debated who should pay back the 30,000-peso loan, they could draw on evidence of Bueno de la Borbolla's fiscal responsibility and the cabildo's wastefulness. This, of course, incensed Puebla's *regidor*es, who jailed Bueno de la Borbolla to prevent him from fleeing to Nuevo Leon before paying back his share of the 30,000-peso debt. Unfortunately for the *regidor*es, the viceroy foiled the plan by ordering his release.[65]

As the examples of the *alguacil*es reveal, material interests often drove disputes over ceremonial protocol and comportment. The ceremonial disputes involving the Veytia y Linaje and Jáuregui y Barcena families also hinged on worldly matters: money, social and political alliances, and family interests. Examples from the careers of Mendoza y Escalante and Bueno de la Borbolla illustrate how ceremonial challenges played a significant role not only in jurisdictional rivalries, but also in individual struggles for power within corporations. Individual interests also shaped the dispute regarding the Adoration of the Holy Cross, but "jurisdiction" justified the action of both parties and legitimized the dispute. Both parties certainly sought to protect their

[64] Vicente Bueno de la Borbolla to the Council of the Indies, Puebla, n.d., AGI, México 821, unpaginated; King to the cabildo, El Pardo, 1 February 1746, AMP, Expedientes 212, Legajo 2607, folios 130r-134v.
[65] Viceroy Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas to the cabildo, Mexico City, 15 January 1746, AMP, RC 9, folios 456-457. Despite the councilmen's concern, it seems that the cabildo never had to pay the 18,500 pesos owed by the *alguacil*. See Libro que contiene las copias de las escrituras de censos principales, 1770, AMP, LV 13.

jurisdictional autonomy, but for several of the players with very real material interests at stake, "jurisdiction" served as a convenient concept to hide behind.

Despite the Crown's prohibition against clergy engaging in commerce, various members of the cathedral chapter ran lucrative enterprises, either in their own names or with family members or servants acting as fronts. In a letter written 12 May 1721, the bishop singled out the cathedral's last dean, Francisco López de Humara, for owning two haciendas and a sugar plantation and Felipe de Ledesma for owning two ranches and a mill; neither paid taxes, interest on the *censos,* the *diezmo,* or the *alcabala*. The biggest perpetrator of all, however, was the *medio racionero* Pedro Rodriguez de Ledesma, who owned three haciendas. Apparently, the priest turned a large profit from raising, slaughtering, and selling pigs in Puebla, and by selling the soap and lard derived from the pigs in Mexico City and Oaxaca. Nogales Dávila complained that the engagement of these men in business created "scandal" and kept them from attending to their priestly duties.[66] In 1721, Veytia attempted yet again to make the ecclesiastics pay the *alcabala*, and this surely contributed to the dispute over the Adoration of the Holy Cross.

The conflict over the *alcabala* and the related ceremonial disputes transcend analysis limited to jurisdiction. Although some priests participated in commerce, others did not and, not coincidentally, not all priests sided with the cathedral chapter regarding the Adoration of the Holy Cross. The cabildo gathered testimonies regarding what occurred at the Good Friday celebration. Joseph de la Fuente, the 70-year old master of ceremonies, testified that the custom had always been for the cabildo to stand as the

[66] Bishop Pedro Nogales Dávila to the Council of the Indies, 12 May 1721, AGI, México 835, folios 1r-8v.

prelates walked by, and did not specify that councilmen needed to remain standing.[67] Other parish priests sided with the cabildo and preached against the cathedral chapter in their weekly sermons.[68]

Although regular and secular clergy had their own rules of self-governance, they ultimately fell under Episcopal jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the prior of Puebla's Carmelite convent wrote a letter to the Council of the Indies supporting the lieutenant of the *alcalde mayor*, who succeeded his uncle after his death on 14 August 1722. He requested that the Council permit the lieutenant to stay on as *alcalde mayor* in order to continue the legacy of "good works" performed by his uncle.[69] In a jointly penned letter, the priors of the Convent of Saint Dominic, and the guardians of the Convents of Saint Francis and Saint Barbara were more direct in their support of Fernández Veytia and in expressing their resentment toward the cathedral chapter and Antonio de Jáuregui in particular; they complained that these rogue priests were attempting to speak and act in the name of the entire clerical community. They supported Fernández Veytia on behalf of Puebla's mendicant orders and went so far as to claim that the lieutenant had won over the entire city.[70] These friars backed Fernández Veytia at great risk to themselves; they wrote the letters after the death of the bishop, with the cathedral chapter in complete control of the diocese.

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[67] Petición de parte de Joseph de Guzmán por el Venerable Deán y Cabildo sede vacante de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Puebla, Puebla, n.d., México 821, unpaginated.
[68] Testimonio de la Real Provisión librada por S.M. . . 1723, AGI, México 821, unpaginated.
[69] Manuel de la Virgen to the Council of the Indies, Puebla, 11 March 1723, AGI, México 1915, unpaginated.
[70] Juan Rodríguez, Miguel de Munduate, Ignacio Portillo and Manuel de Céspedes to the Council of the Indies, Puebla, n.d., AGI, México 1915, unpaginated.

A correlation exists between the conflict over the *alcabala* and the fracas over ceremonial entitlements. A year before the Good Friday incident Veytia complained to the Council of the Indies that priests traded in around 350,000 pesos worth of goods annually, defrauded the Crown of approximately 20,000 pesos of taxes annually, and that ecclesiastical judges shielded them behind the *fuero eclesiástico*.[71] One month after the Good Friday scandal, Bishop Nogales Dávila complained about cathedral chapter members who engaged in commerce.[72] At the time of the Good Friday incident, therefore, the cathedral chapter had been resisting enquiries into the business transactions of its members.

During the years immediately preceding the Adoration controversy, Veytia y Linaje's *alcabala* policy and his ceremonial privileges became negatively linked in people's minds. Between 1717 and 1721 someone wrote an anonymous satire blaming Veytia for single-handedly destroying the local economy. According to the author, the *alcalde mayor* managed to do this by arbitrarily inflating the taxation rate, which then drove merchants away. The author gave the piece to Bishop Nogales Dávila, who then passed it along to the Council of the Indies. Interestingly, the author seemed irked not only by Veytia y Linaje's fiscal policies, but also with how he sat upon a "throne" inside "God's church."[73] In early modern Puebla, contemporaries recognized the inextricable link between ritual and politics.

[71] Juan José de Veytia y Linaje to the Council of the Indies, 8 August 1720, AGI, México 835, folios 9-13.
[72] Bishop Pedro Nogales Dávila to the Council of the Indies, 12 May 1721, AGI, México 835, folios 1-8v.
[73] La Violencia de un poder ejecutada con tiranía y sentida con suspiros del Dolor, AGI, México 844.

In their complaints following the Adoration incident, the cathedral attacked the piety of the cabildo and accused councilmen of setting a bad example for the masses.[74] But considering the timing of the dispute, it seems likely that with these charges the chapter wished to influence the Council's deliberations on the taxation issue. The dispute over taxation eventually evolved into a dispute over jurisdiction. Although Nogales Dávila had complained about chapter members engaging in commerce, he refused to allow Veytia access to *capellanía* records. Veytia accused the bishop of shielding prelates who engaged in agricultural production, but the bishop claimed to act in defense of the church's jurisdictional autonomy.[75] Veytia y Linaje had exclusive control over the collection of the *alcabala*, but Antonio de Jáuregui y Barcena claimed that as judge and vicar general of the chapter, he alone had the right to investigate and penalize offending priests.

In 1722, Juan José de Veytia y Linaje forced the *medio racionero* Pedro de Ledesma to pay the *alcabala* on some of his livestock. When Veytia refused to return the money to Ledesma, Antonio de Jáuregui y Barcena excommunicated him. Because ecclesiastical officials commonly used the threat of excommunication to manipulate secular officials, the audiencia had the authority to grant absolutions.[76] Although the audiencia absolved Veytia's excommunication almost immediately, the dramatic events

[74] Dean and cathedral chapter of Puebla to the Council of the Indies, Puebla, 29 April 1721, AGI, México 821, unpaginated.
[75] Juan José de Veytia y Linaje a S.M., Puebla de los Ángeles, 29 abril 1721, AGI, Audiencia de México 835, folios 22r-24v.
[76] Alejandro Cañeque, "The King's Living Image," pp. 227-228.

took a toll on his health. One month later, the *alcalde mayor* died and his nephew blamed Antonio de Jáuregui.[77]

Less than one month before Veytia's excommunication, the cathedral chapter tried to make peace with the cabildo with a highly scripted, ritualized apology. Cathedral canon Pedro de Vargas arrived in the company of another chapter member to give "satisfaction" to the lieutenant and cabildo. Vargas had insulted the lieutenant during the Adoration and recognized that a public slight warranted a public apology. He therefore offered to stand in the middle of the main plaza and declare his remorse. The lieutenant refused the offer, but news of the apology surely spread through the city. The act cast light on the canon's motivations for insulting the lieutenant. He explained that he had in no way intended to insult the lieutenant, but had been pushed into doing so by other members of the chapter.[78] These prelates more than certainly harbored resentment over the *alcabala* collection. In the early modern period, elites often attacked one another indirectly through their clients. Poblanos would have understood that an attack on Fernández Veytia represented an attack on his uncle, and that the dispute over the Adoration and seating arrangements extended from the conflict over the *alcabala*.

After the row on Good Friday, the cabildo had ceased attending most public ceremonies with the cathedral chapter but following the apology, the cabildo agreed to resume its regular schedule of activities. The truce, however, lasted barely a month. The cabildo immediately began boycotting events after Antonio de Jáuregui y Barcena's

[77] José Fernández Veytia Linaje remite la representación adjunta con el testimonio que la acompaña, sobre lo ejecutado por el provisor, y vicario general de aquel obispado, después del fallecimiento de Don Juan Joseph de Veytia, 27 August 1722, AGI, México 836, folios 861r-866r.
[78] Actas, 16 June 1722, AMP, AC 40, folios 528r-530r; Actas, 13 July 1722, AMP, AC 40, folios 547v-548r.

excommunication of the *alcalde mayor*.[79] The following year, the cabildo arrived at the Adoration of the Holy Cross in the company of militiamen. The soldiers had participated in the procession of the Most Holy Burial and the lieutenant claimed that they merely peeked into the cathedral hoping to catch sight of another bout between the cathedral and the cabildo. The vicar general, however, believed that Fernández Veytia surrounded himself with militiamen in order to intimidate him.

Jáuregui y Barcena believed that Fernández Veytia hated him, and even after the death of his uncle, the lieutenant had plenty of reason to. According to various witnesses, Antonio de Jáuregui's thirst for vengeance continued after Veytia y Linaje's death. The vicar general purportedly tried to prevent the Convent of Saint Francis from providing the *alcalde mayor* with a Christian burial. The vicar general supposedly did this by first arguing that Veytia still fell under the censure of excommunication and when this failed, by claiming to have excommunicated him again for continuing to persecute Pedro de Ledesma. Jáuregui y Barcena purportedly also prevented Veytia y Linaje's family members from having masses said for his soul in his private chapel and tried to prevent the convent from tolling its bells in his honor.[80] Believing the accounts, the Council of the Indies eventually ruled that Jáuregui y Barcena used his control over religious ceremony to torment Veytia even after his death.

The conflict over the *alcabala* and the corresponding disputes over ceremony involved the interests of various individuals: the Jáuregui brothers, the *alcalde mayor*, the

[79] Actas, 16 June 1722, AMP, AC 40, folios 528r-530r; Actas, 13 July 1722, AMP, AC 40, folios 547v-548r.
[80] José Fernández Veytia Linaje to the Council of the Indies, Puebla, 27 March 1723, AGI, México 835, folios 873r-956v.

lieutenant, merchant priests and local friars. Councilmen also played a crucial role in the struggle. Most supported the *alcalde mayor* and Fernández Veytia, but as noted in the cases involving the *alguacil*es, self-interest sometimes superseded corporate loyalty. On 22 January 1722, six months before the death of Veytia y Linaje, the cabildo attended funeral honors for Friar Juan de Gorospe in the Convent of Saint Dominic. As noted, the cabildo had suspended attendance at most functions, but made an exception in this case; Gorospe Irala had at one time been the bishop-elect of New Segovia (the Philippines) and was related to the honorary *regidor* José de Gorospe Irala. After Veytia y Linaje took over the collection of the *alcabala* in 1697 and became *alcalde mayor* in 1700, many members of the elite lost interest in the cabildo and for close to thirty years, it suffered from a chronic shortage of men. For this reason, in 1714 Veytia y Linaje appointed four honorary *regidor*es. The cabildo attended the event mainly in support of the *regidor* Gorospe, but had to leave early because of the insulting behavior of the cathedral chapter. As the ceremony commenced, workers began placing chairs on the altar and one by one, members of the chapter took their seats. The lieutenant stood up to leave, but Gorospe stayed seated. Even worse, another honorary *regidor*, Alonso de Vallarta, also stayed behind. The cabildo headed straight for the municipal palace for an emergency meeting and sent a messenger to fetch the two *regidor*es from the convent. The lieutenant chastised both men for their lack of loyalty. Alonso de Vallarta, however, received the brunt of his wrath. He stayed purely out of self-interest; he worked also as the treasurer of the cathedral and hoped to get a nephew of his placed on the chapter.[81]

[81] Actas, 22 January 1722, AMP, AC 40, folios 466r-468r.

The scandal and ensuing lawsuits over the Adoration of the Holy Cross involved jurisdictional rights and honor, but primarily ensued because agents struggled for power which, in this particular case, meant "real," as well as symbolic capital. Contemporaries argued these types of cases effectively by referring to honor and jurisdiction, but the underlying social relationships and material objectives belie an analysis based exclusively on these terms. The timing of this particular outburst suggests that participants used ceremonial conflict as a means to discredit rivals and advance lawsuits in the Council of the Indies. The Jáuregui prelates bore a grudge against the *alcalde mayor* for stripping control of the lucrative tax collection from their brother Pedro, and Antonio de Jáuregui purportedly hated the *alcalde mayor* for playing a role in the revoking of Juan's bishopric. Furthermore, several allies of the brothers engaged in commerce and Veytia's reforms threatened their wealth. Although the bishop and many local prelates objected to the chapter's behavior, members enjoyed overriding authority over religious ceremonies and used it against the *alcalde mayor*. In the end, however, Antonio de Jáuregui and the cathedral chapter miscalculated. The Crown finally put an end to the dispute, forbidding ecclesiastics from engaging in trade, forcing all to stand during the Adoration, and forbidding ecclesiastics from using chairs.[82] In 1723, the Crown ordered the viceroy to reprimand the elderly Antonio de Jáuregui severely and publicly for his vengeful behavior.[83] The consequences of the disputes, therefore, affirm Victor Turner's contention that struggles over ceremonial comportment can modify social, political and

[82] Bishop Juan Antonio de Lardizabal to the Council of the Indies, Puebla, 7 August 1724, AGI, México 847, unpaginated.
[83] Viceroy Marquis of Casafuerte to the Council of the Indies, Mexico City, 7 November 1723, AGI, México 835, folios 957r-960r.

economic relationships. Cathedral chapter members attempted to defend their interests through ceremony, but in the end lost the material and cultural advantage.

While disputes like those involving the Jáuregui y Barcena and Veytia families clearly demonstrate that underlying material and political objectives influenced the timing and nature of ceremonial disputes, by the 1760s, struggles regarding ceremonial precedence became more clearly about "jurisdiction." As I examine in the following chapter, changes in royal policy exacerbated tension between corporations and individuals, and catalyzed ceremonial confrontations. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the feud between the Veytia y Linaje and Jáuregui y Barcena factions sprang from material concerns, but this conflict would not have resulted if not for the monarchy's reform of the tax-farming privilege. Vicente Bueno de la Borbolla's complaint regarding the Duke of the Conquest's and the Count of Fuenclara's entrance ceremonies illustrates that changes to ceremonial protocol could provide individuals with the pretexts to avenge perceived, and seemingly unrelated, wrongs.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, conflicts became more clearly about jurisdictional controversy and imperial impositions on local government. Because colonial ceremonies took place in politically charged arenas, interferences by the Crown in the functioning of local government could spill over into public performances. By the 1750s and 1760s, ceremonial disputes did indeed take the form of jurisdictional conflicts.

Chapter 8: The Ceremonial Expression of Jurisdictional Tension: The Political Implications of Ceremonial Disputes, 1750-1775

Almost five decades after the dispute during the Adoration of the Holy Cross, Puebla' cathedral witnessed another dramatic display of disunity. The Crown considered 25 July, the feast day of Santiago, one of its most important religious and political holidays. Puebla's cabildo never subsidized the event, but it did have an obligation to attend the cathedral's yearly mass. Because Santiago was celebrated as the empire's primary patron, the event served various purposes. By attending the feast-day mass, poblanos had the opportunity to reconfirm their faith, seek the saint's assistance, ask for intercession on behalf of the Crown, and reaffirm their identities as subjects of the Spanish Empire. The ceremony should have worked to unite poblanos under Church and state. In 1770, however, an event intended to demonstrate cohesion, did just the opposite.

Upon entering the cathedral, the cabildo and governor of the city of Puebla, Esteban Bravo y Rivera, approached the main altar to participate in a ritual known as the "peace." Before feast day masses, a prelate would offer bishops and governmental leaders a relic or sacred image; by humbling themselves before a holy object, leaders demonstrated their community's submission to the Catholic faith, just as vassals demonstrated their submission by kneeling and kissing the hand of their lord. Kings, viceroys, *alcaldes mayores*, and governors all knelt before the altar when receiving the peace, and by this gesture served as conduits, demonstrating their kingdom, colony, or city's submission. In 1770, however, the governor rose to his feet immediately before

receiving the peace. By refusing to kneel before the officiating prelate, the governor caused a "scandal" and compelled the cathedral chapter to issue a series of complaints to the Council of the Indies.[1]

To understand the relationship between the dispute on the feast day of Santiago, as well as several other ceremonial disputes that occurred in the 1760s and 1770s, we must first unravel the relationship between the governor, the militia, the cathedral chapter, Bourbon policy, and the declining prestige of the cabildo. Doing so can help illustrate how ceremony made public the position of specific corporations in the local power structure. Bourbon policy changed the playing field and ritual, in turn, worked to announce the rising power of certain groups, while heralding the decline of the cabildo. Colonial leaders did not distinguish between politics and ceremony, and ritual remained the primary stage for expressing, and sometimes resolving, political conflict.

In the 1750s, the Crown became more directly involved in local affairs and, in the 1760s administrators under Charles III began centralizing authority and redrawing boundaries between jurisdictions. In 1754, the Crown changed the title of the president of the cabildo from *alcalde mayor* to *gobernador político y militar* (political and military governor). From now on, in addition to having all the responsibilities of an *alcalde mayor*, the governor held supreme authority over the local militias. In the 1760s the Crown began reforming and professionalizing Puebla's urban and regional militia. This had far-reaching implications for the balance of power in Puebla, strengthening the position of the governor, the militias, and as we shall see, indirectly, the cathedral

[1] Testimonio presentado con memorial del deán y cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla de los Ángeles, 15 February 1775, AGI, México 2662, unpaginated.

chapter. In terms of "real power" and prestige, the only group which lost out substantially was the cabildo. Ceremony proved so integral to the political culture of Puebla, that as soon the governor and militia became contenders for power, the cabildo and cathedral chapter began arguing over questions of etiquette. Both corporations now felt pressured by the presence of new contenders for prestige.

For most of the colonial period, bureaucrats expected a certain level of jurisdictional tension and jostled with the same finite group of rivals during particular ceremonies. In Puebla, the cathedral and cabildo periodically clashed over jurisdictional issues, but the changes enacted by Bourbon administrators increased the general level of contention and made ritual into an even greater field of battle. Disputes from the 1760s and 1770s highlight the delicate balance of power that existed in colonial Puebla and underscore the importance of ceremony to the political culture of the city.

Esteban Bravo y Rivera assumed the governorship of Puebla in 1764, soon after colonial administrators began reorganizing the colonial militia. Under the city's previous two governors, local leaders managed to preserve the status quo, but Bravo y Rivera took a more active role in local politics and made his presence felt immediately upon arriving in the city. There is no doubt, however, that the expansion of the militia fortified the governor's position and seriously undermined the authority of the cabildo. In 1762, Spain entered the Seven Year's War (1756-1763) and England responded by invading and occupying Havana. The then viceroy of New Spain, the Marquis of Cruillas, immediately set out to prepare the colony's defenses by overhauling the militia. As the

decade progressed, the Marquis of Cruillas and the Marquis of Croix, the Inspector General Juan Villalba, and the Visitor General José de Gálvez continued modernizing the militia and quartering active soldiers, the wounded, and veterans in Puebla.[2]

Throughout this entire period, the Crown repeatedly demanded that the cabildo pay for the uniforms and housing of the troops, taxing the corporation's already debilitated resources. In the late 1760s the cabildo owed a total of 82,500 pesos and paid 4,025 pesos in interest annually. Quite simply, the cabildo could not maintain the military financially. Councilmen kept paying for elaborate ceremonies that drove them into debt, but the subsidizing of militia troops fell outside the boundaries of custom. So, in 1767, the Marquis of Croix suggested a new municipal tax, and the cabildo eventually redirected an already existent tax on grain to cover militia-related expenses.[3]

The appearance of a relatively polished provincial militia increased the importance of the governor and forced councilmen to reevaluate their positions within the city. Cabildos throughout the colony resented the imposition of militias, and Puebla's councilmen specifically resented having to pay for the militia's uniforms, and having to oversee the conscription of soldiers. In 1767, the viceroy ordered the cabildo to obtain the membership lists of the city's guilds for the purpose of drafting soldiers. Councilmen certainly knew that this would outrage the population, and when they called on the guilds to present their membership lists, they kept their purpose secret. Already upset by the

[2] The viceroy actually began the reorganization project in 1761. María del Carmen Velásquez, *El estado de guerra en Nueva España, 1760-1808* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1950), p. 33.
[3] Actas, 14 March 1767, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 189v; Actas, 1 October 1768, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folios 367v-370r.

quartering of troops in the city, the populace had risen up and attacked soldiers only two years before.[4]

While the cabildo handled the constant demands of the militia, it also had to deal with the imposing governor. Despite the cabildo's willingness to work with Bravo y Rivera, councilmen hotly contested his encroachment into their jurisdiction. At the beginning of his term, the governor tried to manipulate the election of the city's accountant, presumably to increase the revenues that could be diverted to the local militia. When confronted with the resistance of councilmen, the governor walked out of the election meeting. The Marquis de Cruillas sided with the governor against the cabildo and on 13 July 1765 issued a decree ordering councilmen to maintain "harmony."[5] Although the viceroy's advisors determined that Bravo y Rivera had acted with "excessive ardor," the Marquis of Cruillas refused to allow the cabildo to pursue the case.[6] Clearly, the viceroy's emphasis on militia reform fortified Bravo y Rivera's position. The Marquis of Cruillas and the Marquis of Croix took to communicating directly with the governor, who then shared the information with the cabildo. These slights, of course, provoked the indignation of councilmen who traditionally communicated directly with the viceroy.

Soon after arriving in the city, the governor set a chain of events in motion that dramatically altered the political culture of the city. With the position of governor came the right to sit in a chair decorated with a tapestry, and use a cushion during public church

[4] Actas, 12 March 1767, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 181r; Velásquez, *El estado de guerra*, p. 84.
[5] Viceroy to the cabildo of Puebla, 21 August 1765, AMP, RC 10, folio 223r-223v.
[6] Actas, 28 January 1766, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 19r. The viceroy also failed to support the *procurador mayor*, Ignacio Vallarta Villaseptien, in his request for reimbursement for his trip to Mexico City to complain about the governor's behavior.

ceremonies. The local elite of the city had not seen someone exercise this right since the administration of Juan José de Veytia y Linaje (1712-1722). Bravo y Rivera's predecessors had not used tapestries, cushions or chairs during church ceremonies, but having previously served as governor of Puerto Rico, Bravo y Rivera knew his ceremonial rights and began demanding them immediately. The *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias* specifically afforded governors these privileges in contrast to *alcaldes mayores*, who could never sit apart, or distinguish themselves from their cabildos.[7] One year after assuming his post, the governor received a cédula granting him and all of his successors the right to bear this regalia during public church functions. The Crown stipulated only one condition: the governor could enjoy these privileges solely when attending functions as the president, or "head," of the cabildo.[8]

This quickly upset the balance of power in Puebla and the delicate equilibrium that corporations sought to establish where issues of ceremony were concerned. Because the cathedral chapter reserved the right to sit in chairs when in the company of Veytia y Linaje or someone of his standing, chapter members began sitting in chairs during performances, to the outright dismay of the cabildo. Because ceremony constituted the primary expression of political contention, the 1760s and 70s saw a series of heated disputes over etiquette and comportment.

The governor continued to innovate upon Puebla's ceremonial practices. On 28 January 1767, Bravo y Rivera asked the cabildo where his main assistant should sit

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[7] Spain, *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Julián de Paredes, 1681), folio 66v; Book 3, Title 15, Law 28.
[8] King to Esteban Bravo y Rivera, San Ildefonso, 21 October 1764, AGI, México 2662, unpaginated; Actas, 14 May 1765, AMP-BNAH, AC 51, folios 442v-443v.

during the funerary honors for the queen-mother, Isabel de Farnesio. The governor, moreover, wanted to know whether members of his entourage should share, or sit in front of, benches reserved for the cabildo. After expressing shock and consulting the cabildo's lawyer, councilmen responded to Bravo y Rivera's request by citing a cédula issued on 20 June 1587 that reserved the cabildo's bench exclusively for councilmen. The cabildo also noted that the bench assigned to the *alcaldes ordinarios* could be shared with other distinguished members of the community, but added that it lacked the authority to assign other seats inside the cathedral. As the governor's authority grew, he tried to place his personal stamp on ceremonial practice. The cabildo, however, continued to resist challenges to its authority. [9]

When the Crown increased the responsibilities of the cabildo's president, reformed the militias, and began quartering regular troops in the city, it changed the rules which governed ceremonial practice. The militia became a rival for resources and privileges and now the same man that headed it also presided over the cabildo. As the decade progressed, the cabildo felt the need to assert its importance during public performances. According to historian Thomas Calvo, the cabildo of late seventeenth-century Guadalajara engaged in a similar symbolic battle. As the audiencia of the province encroached on the jurisdiction of the cabildo, it also undermined the council's position during ceremonies. When the wives of the audiencia judges moved their cathedral benches ahead of the space customarily reserved for the cabildo, councilmen initiated what Calvo termed the "war of the benches." Councilmen protested by walking

[9] Actas, 28 January 1767, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folios 163v-164r.

out of the cathedral and began a legal dispute, challenging the audiencia's right to usurp their benches.[10] In the late eighteenth century, the expansion of the colonial bureaucracy would also catalyze resentment over ceremonial prerogatives. As more bureaucrats joined the Bourbon administration, organizers of public ceremony needed to make room in an already saturated ceremonial hierarchy. As in Guadalajara, jurisdictional restructuring impacted the ceremonial practices of Puebla's leading institutions. New bureaucrats began competing with councilmen for ceremonial distinctions, and at the center of the dispute stood the divisive Governor Bravo y Rivera.

In 1766, dismayed at the newly acquired seating privileges of the cathedral chapter and governor, and concerned about their shrinking importance in local politics, councilmen petitioned the Council of the Indies and the audiencia for the same privilege. Meanwhile, in order to expand the colonial militia, the Crown began promoting military service as an honorable form of social advancement. Although most of Puebla's *regidores* served as militia captains before assuming office, they formed part of the volunteer battalion of merchants, and enjoyed higher status than the regular rank and file. Now, Puebla acquired a professional provincial militia and to encourage enlistment, the Crown took advantage of the propagandistic potential of ceremony. In addition to having the cabildo house, dress, and elect the captains of the militias, in 1767 the Marquis of Croix ordered councilmen to give soldiers a prominent role in the city's Corpus Christi

[10] Thomas Calvo, *Poder, religión y sociedad en la Guadalajara del siglo XVII* (Mexico City: Centre d'etudes Mexicaines et Centreaméricaines, 1992), p. 72.

procession. Councilmen complied with the viceroy's order by incorporating 150 white and 300 *pardo* militiamen into the procession.[11]

In 1767, the imperial armed forces gained another boost. On 21 July 1767, Bishop Francisco Fabián y Fuero blessed the new standards of the Royal Army in a meticulously choreographed ceremony. Festivities began the evening before with the peeling of bells and the illumination of the cathedral tower. On the following day, the ceremony commenced when representatives from the chapter met the army's old standards in the main plaza. As the committee walked into the cathedral, its musicians struck a chord in order to heighten the drama of the arrival. After bowing the standards three times before the main altar, representatives placed them upon the Altar of the Kings, at the far end of the church. Then, on the main altar, in the company of an image of Our Lady, the bishop said mass and blessed the new standards. The ceremony announced the importance of the military to the empire, and the central role it would henceforth play in colonial society. The heightened prestige of the military, however, came at the expense of the cabildo. While planning for the blessing of the standards, the cathedral chapter made a telling decision. As if to castigate the cabildo, the prelates decided that because the military officials "do not have seats on the benches belonging to the Most Noble City," they would have special benches placed for them directly below the pulpit. In the world of the colonial elite, the closer a group stood to the main altar, the greater its power and social standing.[12] Seeing generals and lieutenants seated below the

[11] Actas, 8 June 1767, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folios 224v-225r; Actas, 20 June 1767, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 229r.
[12] Actas, 19 July 1768, AMP, AC 36, folios 126v.-127v.

main altar surely provoked anxiety among the city's *regidor*es. Councilmen would now have to adjust to being periodically outshined by the governor, cathedral chapter, and the colonial armed forces.

As the militia gained importance, it began to threaten the cabildo's public reputation. Even when not participating in the same event, soldiers could still interfere with the corporation's ceremonial activities. On the morning of 4 October 1768, at the feast day of Saint Francis of Assisi, councilmen clashed with the lieutenant of the company of dragoons because he refused to detour his marching soldiers around the cabildo's procession. Instead of simply stepping aside and continuing to march alongside the processional carriages, the lieutenant took out his sword and detained the carriage bearing the cabildo's maces. By halting the progression of the maces that symbolized the cabildo's authority, the lieutenant managed to freeze the entire procession. Upon hearing the council's complaint, the Marquis of Croix acknowledged that the lieutenant had acted inappropriately. At the same time, however, the viceroy explained that according to military law, once in march, soldiers could not stop. Although he intended to communicate his disapproval to the lieutenant, he did not consider this a "scandalous act" because the requirements of military training superseded all other considerations. Rather than vindicating councilmen, the final ruling confirmed their fears regarding the impact of the militia on the balance of power within the city. Now, instead of having only the

cathedral to compete with, the cabildo also had to contend with the increasingly important militia.[13]

As noted, colonial Spanish Americans treated honor like a finite resource and in the late eighteenth century, most councilmen felt threatened by the ceremonial privileges of the governor and the growing influence of the militia. These feelings of defensiveness coalesced in the struggle over seating, but tension manifested itself in a succession of other disputes over ceremonial privilege. Governor Bravo y Rivera appeared seated during public functions and cathedral chapter members responded by also sitting in backed chairs during religious rituals. Bravo y Rivera, however, wanted more. He began complaining to the Council of the Indies regarding the ceremony of peace. At the beginning of mass, chapter members offered the bishop a sacred image to kiss and sprinkled him with holy water. Only after performing these rites with the bishop, would the officiating priest do the same with the governor. Esteban y Bravo wanted two priests to perform the rites simultaneously with the governor and the bishop. The Council of the Indies agreed, and the cathedral chapter responded by consistently disregarding the order.[14]

Puebla's councilmen wanted similar concessions. Most importantly, they wanted the privilege of sitting in chairs alongside the governor. This inaugurated a series of heated arguments over ceremonial prerogatives. In 1768, the cabildo walked out of the feast day celebrations for Saint Gertrude and Saint Rose because the officiating priests

[13] Actas, 6 October 1768, BNAH-AMP, AC 52, folio 371r; Marquis of Croix to the cabildo, 11 October 1768, AMP, RC 10, folios 258r-259r; Actas, 14 October 1768, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 375r.
[14] Actas de la Catedral, 2 October 1768, ACP, ACE 36, folio 3v; Actas de la Catedral, 9 May 1769, ACP, ACE 36, folios 90v-100v.

refused to offer councilmen incense, and the "peace." The *Recopilación de las leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* specified that viceroys, presidents of the audiencias, and the cabildos of Lima and Mexico should enjoy these distinctions when attending public church functions, and because the capital usually set the precedent for the rest of the colony, religious leaders had traditionally honored the cabildo with these same rituals.[15]

Councilmen became indignant over what they perceived as the ingratitude of the priests. The cabildo, after all, subsidized the cost of both events and attended each with the maces that symbolized its authority; this, in turn, "authorized," and enhanced the quality of pious celebrations. Indignant, the cabildo took the radical step of canceling its sponsorship of both events and ceased attending in "*cuerpo de ciudad*" – that is, as the corporate body that represented the city.[16] Councilmen argued that they attended the feast days of Saint Gertrude and Saint Rose purely out of devotion, but in 1747, in the middle of an epidemic, councilmen had sworn publicly always to subsidize and celebrate the feast day of Saint Gertrude as their special patroness against disease; Saint Rose had been a patron since 1673. After some deliberation, the cabildo resolved to continue celebrating the saints' days, but to move the masses from the Convent of Saint Rose to the Convent of Saint Francis.[17]

These conflicts occurred while the Council of the Indies and the audiencia deliberated over the cabildo's request for seating privileges and Bravo y Rivera's appeal regarding the ceremony of peace. Because the ceremony of peace represented the unity

[15] Spain, *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, p. 65, 65v; Book 3, Title 15, Law 13, Law 17, Law 18, and Law 21.
[16] Actas, 28 January 1767, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folios 163v-164r.
[17] Actas, 8 November 1768, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folios 383r-385v; Libro que contiene los patronatos, 1769, AMP, LV 20, folios 103r-110v.

of the church and community through its local leaders, one cannot discount the possibility that tension over seating aggravated the relationship between prelates and councilmen and contributed to the dispute over feast day protocol. The officiating priests, moreover, may have wanted to hurt the credibility of councilmen by forcing them to create a "scandal" during public ceremonies, something the audiencia judges and Council of the Indies advisors would have certainly frowned upon.

In 1768, the cathedral chapter tried to gain a greater hold over municipal ceremony. Francisco Fabián y Fuero, who served as bishop of Puebla from 1764 to 1773, spent much of his ecclesiastical career reforming what he considered the more offensive aspects of baroque Catholicism. In his quest to encourage a more streamlined, contemplative form of worship, the bishop issued a series of edicts forbidding, among other things, processions in the evenings. Fabián y Fuero served on the Fourth Mexican Provincial Council and helped to spearhead what some historians have termed the Bourbon "secularization" process, and another has labeled the "new piety."[18] The bishop, therefore, had a particular agenda in mind for reforming the cabildo's ceremonial practices.

In order to promote less outward displays of piety and worldly styles of devotion, the Fourth Mexican Provincial Council determined that each cathedral should have a master of ceremonies to serve as an expert on sacred ritual, as well as the "rites and courtesies that are practiced with the Royal Tribunals." To avoid "competitions"

[18] For a discussion of secularization, see D.A. Brading, "Tridentine Catholicism and Enlightened Despotism in Bourbon Mexico,"*Journal of Latin American Studies* 15 (1983), pp. 1-22 and William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). Pamela Voekel coined the term "new piety." See *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 18.

between religious and secular officials, the master of ceremonies would instruct prelates on questions of etiquette and protocol. Church leaders hoped that by taking the responsibility over the performance of ceremony away from cathedral chapters, secular officials would feel less inclined to quarrel publicly with, or bring charges against, them. Doubts regarding how ceremonies should be performed, moreover, would be resolved at yearly inter-diocesan meetings, with the participation of two representatives from the cathedral chapter of Puebla.[19]

Bishop Fabián y Fuero clearly disapproved of using religious ceremonies as mechanisms by which to increase social standing and/or political power. As if the presence of the militia and the privileges of the governor and cathedral chapter did not constitute enough of a challenge to the cabildo's traditional understanding of ceremony, now the bishop tried to limit the use of religious ritual in plays for power. Although the bishop did not regard religious ceremony as anathema to political celebrations, he tried to minimize the element of self-promotion and political competitiveness that had always been integral to local ceremony. Not coincidentally, in 1767 it was he who instructed the prelates of the Convent of Saint Rose and the parish of Saint Sebastian not to present councilmen with incense and the sign of peace.[20] Wanting to ensure uniformity in the rituals that are performed in Episcopal sees throughout the colony, the bishop argued that, because Mexico City's cabildo did not enjoy these distinctions, neither should the councilmen of Puebla.

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[19] Actas de la Catedral, 7 July 1771, ACP, ACE 39, folio 119v.
[20] Actas, 31 August 1768, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 364r; Actas, 8 November 1768, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folios 383r-385v.

In 1768, tension between the secular and religious governing bodies increased when Fabián y Fuero and the cathedral chapter attacked the morality of the theater. The bishop blamed the supposed sinfulness that it encouraged (socializing between men and women, public drunkenness), and its questionable moral content for a succession of violent earthquakes that had struck the city. He ordered a series of penitential processions to beg for God's mercy and, terrified by the intensity of the tremors, poblanos took to the streets with public acts of self-mortification. Upon the request of the bishop, Governor Bravo y Rivera temporarily banned all theatrical performances. Councilmen, however, resented the involvement of the governor and ecclesiastics in the official business of the city. The municipal government owned the theater and rented it out for profit.[21] Although the theater did not prove very lucrative, councilmen believed that it helped to pacify the population and that deprived of it, plebeians would likely become violent.[22] The city's senior *regidor*, Antonio Bacilio de Arteaga, argued that by virtue of a cédula issued in 1760, only the municipal government had the authority to decide whether to disallow theater, masquerades, or bullfights. In keeping with the Bourbon monarchy's concern with public conduct and moral policing, the *regidor* proposed carefully censoring the content of the performances, preventing fraternization between the sexes, and lighting the coliseum and the surrounding streets so that if a performance concluded after dark, no crimes could go undetected.[23] The Crown had been pushing for these types of measures in cities throughout the colony and councilmen

[21] The cabildo would sell the right to hold productions and collect ticket sales for a finite period of time. The renter would retain a theater or marionette troop to hold productions, pay the actors, and man the ticket office. See Actas, 28 March 1763, AMP-BNAH, AC 51, folios 89v-90v.
[22] Actas, 17 March 1766, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 48r.
[23] Actas, 18 October 1769, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folios 379r-380r.

strategically referenced this objective of social control in its defense of the theater. Soon after Bravo y Rivera took office, he made this a priority, suggesting that Puebla imitate Mexico City by lighting its principal streets to prevent "disorder."[24]

While councilmen assimilated the changing objectives of the Crown, they linked the dispute over the theater to the dispute over the peace and incense. In the meeting held on 8 November 1768, the cabildo suspended attendance at the feast days of Saint Rose, Saint Gertrude, and Saint Sebastian. While the prelates of the Convent of Saint Rose refused to offer incense and the peace to *regidor*es, the prelates of the Convent of Saint Sebastian went even further. According to councilmen, they had continuously relegated the benches of the cabildo to the rear of the church, never stepped outside to greet the cabildo, and never escorted councilmen outside after mass. Although resentment over treatment at all three functions had begun years before, the situation finally came to a breaking point. Immediately after explaining the prelates' behavior and after placing blame squarely on the bishop, the municipal scribe remarked on how the viceroy had granted a license for the cabildo to reopen the theater.[25] Councilmen, therefore, recognized that the prelate of Saint Sebastian's actions stemmed from the cabildo's dispute with the cathedral chapter.

The scribe concluded by expressing the council's intention of informing the viceroy of the *provisor* and Vicar General's "machinations" to keep the theater closed. The cabildo vowed to defend "royal jurisdiction" and prevent the prelates from becoming

[24] Actas, 6 October 1764, AMP- BNAH, AC 51, folios 369v-370r.
[25] Actas, 8 November 1768, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folios 383r-385v

involved in "matters [pertaining] to this office."[26] On 12 December, at the feast day mass for the Virgin of Guadalupe, the magisterial canon, and family member of Bishop Fabián y Fuero, purportedly criticized the theater during his sermon. The cabildo considered this a "grave dishonor" and complained to the viceroy. The Marquis of Croix, however, believed the bishop's claim that the canon's remarks had been misconstrued and blown out of proportion.[27]

In the 1770s, the cabildo continued to defend its ceremonial privileges, but to little avail. Most councilmen demonstrated misunderstanding regarding how the new political context affected their place in society and their role in ceremony. When the *procurador mayor* José Enciso de Tejada first complained about the cathedral chapter's use of chairs, he suggested that the cabildo plead its case before the audiencia and Council of the Indies using various arguments; the secular and religious authorities had always been ceremonial equals and the disparity in seating privileges had caused, in his opinion, the populace to look down upon the cabildo; the municipal council had sent soldiers to defend the Port of Vera Cruz and donated money to support the empire's many wars; the council had nurtured the growth of the city's new militias; and finally, the cabildo displayed its loyalty by hosting costly celebrations in honor of the recent marriage of the prince.[28] The Crown, however, did not regard these reasons as valid. In the view of the advisors to the Council of the Indies, the city had no choice but to see to the new militias and the donation to the imperial wars could likewise not be regarded as

[26] *Ibid.*, folios 383r-385v.
[27] Actas, 16 December 1768, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 404v; Actas, 17 February 1769, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 411r-411v.
[28] Actas, 24 April 1766, AMP-BNAH, AC 52, folio 56v.

anything less than an obligation.[29] Clearly, the government had attempted to impose new norms and values from above. Members of older distinguished families, like Enciso de Tejada and Arteaga y Solórzano, had not grasped fully how the Crown's changing objectives modified the cabildo's standing in the political culture of the city.

Other members of the cabildo, however, did understand. The *regidor* Cándido González Maldonado objected to the reaction of his fellow *regidores* to the privileges of the cathedral chapter and militia. Like his colleagues, González Maldonado came from a family with a history of bureaucratic service. His father's uncle had served as an honorary *regidor* in the 1730s, and served as an interim *alcalde mayor* for two months in 1734. Cándido's father Juan purchased a position on the council and, in 1760, Cándido himself received the title of *regidor*. Eugenio González Maldonado, brother of Cándido, served as the purveyor of meat to the city in the 1740s and 1760s, and later, briefly rented the coliseum from the cabildo. The González Maldonado clan amassed a fortune primarily through trade, and as one of the richest men in the city, Cornel Eugenio González Maldonado subsidized the oath ceremony for Charles III. In 1763, the Marquis of Cruillas placed him in charge of supplying food and supplies to naval ships during the Seven Years War and in 1765, as *alcalde ordinario*, he advocated garrisoning a greater number of Royal Army soldiers in Puebla after the expulsion of the Jesuits. This powerful family, of course, benefited from displaying their wealth and status in a variety

[29] El cabildo y ayuntamiento de la ciudad de Puebla de los Ángeles, pide en atención a las razones que hace presentes, se digne S.M. de concederle la preeminencia [de] gozar la distinción del uso de sillas, 10 March 1767, AGI, México 2662, unpaginated.

of venues, and now more than ever, the military offered opportunities for social advancement.

In a revealing statement, Cándido González Maldonado informed the cabildo that the political tide had changed, and advised that it come to terms with the rise of the military and the increased power of the cathedral chapter. In 1770, the Council of the Indies denied councilmen the right to receive the peace and incense at the onset of mass, despite the fact that the governor maintained this right and that he and the cabildo formed part of the same ruling "body." The *regidor* suggested giving up the dispute if only for the sake of the city's finances, stressing that no other cabildo enjoyed the right to incense. In their appeals to the Council of the Indies, the cabildo had suggested that the cathedral chapter sit with the chorus of musicians in public ceremonies outside the cathedral. Inside the cathedral, chapter members would naturally sit in the choir stalls. Cándido González Maldonado argued that the cabildo had gone too far in insisting that the chapter sit with the musicians. He regarded this as a gratuitous and humiliating suggestion.[30]

As for the cabildo's relationship with the military, González Maldonado accused councilmen of acting divisively by first, treating the militias and the city's volunteer merchant battalion disrespectfully during the feast day of Saint Charles, a day in which the corporations should have expressed unity in honor of the king. The cabildo, had apparently, refused to allow them to sit in special, reserved benches. The cabildo, moreover, had recently tried to prevent other corporations from decorating their benches and this of course insulted the militiamen, who he believed deserved respect for seeing to

[30] Actas, 16 October 1770, AMP-BNAH, AC 53, folios 154v-155r.

the safety of the city. In González Maldonado´s view, the cabildo should act like a "mother," and look after the cathedral chapter and militia as "sons." He accused councilmen of unreasonably wanting to "beat down" their children, and suggested that they instead "exalt" them and share in their glory.[31] The *regidor* Juan de Zarate agreed, but others sided with Mariano Enciso y Tejada, the son of the now deceased José Enciso y Tejada, the *regidor* who in 1764 released a tide of resentment by speaking out against the cathedral chapter's seating privileges.[32]

Enciso y Tejada wished to continue the fight, but González Maldonado and Juan de Zarate wanted to end the disputes once and for all. Although Zarate may have had various reasons for siding with González Maldonado, the pair made likely allies. In the early eighteenth-century, Puebla's *alcalde mayor* attempted to crush the power of the oligarchy by instituting "honorary" *regidores*, who did not have to purchase their positions on the council. In the 1720s and 30s, Zarate and González Maldonado's fathers had functioned as interim *regidores*. They ignited the wrath of the cabildo's permanent, or "perpetual," *regidores* who argued that they did not deserve comparable ceremonial privileges. *Regidores* stood in processions and sat in churches by order of antiquity and the councilmen who had purchased their positions after these honorary appointments resented being relegated to positions inferior to those of the interim councilmen. As the sons of two interim *regidor*es, González Maldonado and Zarate may have taken a more sympathetic view to the chapter members and military officials' challenge to the

[31] *Ibid.,* folios 154v-155r.
[32] *Ibid.*, folios 154v-155r.

cabildo's hold over ceremony. Neither displayed unswerving loyalty to the cabildo. And later, both would resign their positions in favor of the Crown.

Whatever their reasons, both men wanted the municipal council to adjust to the new political climate. Yet, the governor, cabildo, militia, and cathedral chapter reacted in accordance with their own understandings of how politics functioned and all claimed space in an increasingly crowded ritual arena. Although the cabildo eventually won the battle for the "peace," it failed to convince the Council of the Indies to grant them the use of chairs, pillows, and tapestries during public church functions.[33]

The dispute, however, did not end there. Custom ruled over the ritual life of Puebla and the changes enacted in the 1760s, by upsetting the balance of power, led to a long period of uneasy adjustment. Bravo y Rivera, for example, refused to reconcile himself to anything less than being publicly recognized as the most important official in the city. His self-assuredness, or arrogance, led to the dispute in 1770 during the feast-day mass for Santiago.

Although the Council of the Indies granted the governor the sprinkling of holy water and the distinction of the "peace," the governor took issue with the way the cathedral chose to administer the peace. According to the *Recopilación*, when an archbishop is seated inside the chorus, one priest should offer him the vessel holding the image (known as the *portapaz*), and another priest should offer a vessel to the viceroy.

[33] The Council ordered the city to follow literally the cédulas dated 10 February 1714 and 10 May 1722. These, as noted earlier, only granted the regalia to the *consejero* Veytia y Linaje, or to someone of equal caliber. See Expediente del deán y cabildo de la Catedral de la Puebla de los Ángeles, sobre que se le conceda la gracia absoluta del uso de sillas en las funciones, y fiestas fuera de la Iglesia a que capitularmente asista, sin embargo de que el Gobernador de aquella ciudad no concurre al paraje en que se celebren, 1776, AGI, México 2662, unpaginated.

The viceregal court served as the model for all other cities, and in order to establish protocol for Puebla, the Council of the Indies ruled that the governor be treated as the viceroy, or as the local representative of the "vice-patron" of the church. Puebla's cathedral chapter resisted the order and continued to have only one priest offer the peace first to the bishop and the entire cathedral chapter, and only then to governor. The governor, however, asked the Council of the Indies to ensure that he receive the peace *at the same time* as the bishop, and certainly before the cathedral chapter. Again, changes to the hierarchy of power in Puebla forced changes to ceremonial practice. The governor now functioned as the head of the militias, but the cathedral argued that this did not make him equivalent to the viceroy who functioned as Captain General of the colonial militias, nor did it grant him the same regalia as the viceroy. Moreover, they also argued that the secular clergy had traditionally preceded municipal officials in religious ceremonies.[34] The prelates took the dispute so seriously that when in 1770 the Council of the Indies sided in favor of the governor, they voted to fire their representative in Madrid.[35]

The Council of the Indies also ordered the chapter to abide by a 1714 cédula and place its chairs in the same spaces where it customarily sat. In the late 1760s and 70s, the cathedral chapter insisted upon sitting on the presbytery, but the cabildo argued that if the chapter did so, then the council should do so as well. If this were not possible, the cabildo suggested that the chapter sit inside church choruses, as it did at functions held

[34] In a briefing given to the chapter on 30 June 1769, the doctoral canon cited how Philip II ordered prelates to give the archbishop of Valencia the peace before him. Claiming that the secular clergy had always been honored as a group and not as individuals, the canon believed that both the cathedral chapter and the bishop should receive the peace before the governor. Actas de la Catedral, 30 June 1769, ACP, ACE 37, folios 121v-127v; Actas de la Catedral, 4 July 1769, ACP, ACE 37, 129r-130v.
[35] Actas de la Catedral, 9 May 1769, ACP, ACE 37, folios 90v-100v.

inside the cathedral. The cabildo's official feast days took place mainly in the churches of a particular religious order. Because these choruses were reserved for members of each convent, cathedral chapter members could not sit where the regular clergy sang the Divine Offices. Instead, upon the suggestion of councilmen, chapter members would have to sit in the choruses designated for musicians. The cathedral, however, argued that it was natural for prelates to sit on presbyteries and unnatural for councilmen to suggest doing so; after all, they were called "*presbiterios*" and not "*regimenterios*" for a reason. Chapter members also argued that because the cathedral chapter of Guadalajara, Valladolid, and Mexico City sat on presbyteries, Puebla's should be free to do so as well.[36]

According to the governor and the cabildo, having prelates sit on the main altar while the city's secular leaders sat on the church floor created obvious ceremonial dissonance that undermined the government's authority.[37] Bravo y Rivera, moreover, felt undermined not only over the seating issue, but also because the chapter continued to refuse to offer him the peace at the same time as the bishop. On the feast day of Santiago in 1770, in a show of disapproval against what he perceived as the arrogance of chapter members, the governor refused to remain kneeling during the ceremony of peace.

[36] Testimonio presentado con memorial del deán y cabildo de la Catedral de Puebla de los Ángeles, 15 February 1775, AGI, México 2662, unpaginated.
[37] King to Viceroy, San Idelfonso, 31 July 1776, AMP, RC 14, folios 206r-211r; Testimonio de este despacho y pedimento del Ilustre Cabildo y Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de la Puebla, y en virtud de lo mandado por el Excelentísimo Señor Virrey, August 1774, AGN, General del Parte 52, Expediente 114, folios 111v-116v.

Immediately before receiving the sacred image, the governor distinguished himself from the rest of the cabildo by rising to his feet. [38]

As the feast day of Santiago illustrates, the jurisdictional and ceremonial disputes had become significantly more acrimonious. In colonial Spanish America, leaders knelt when receiving the peace to demonstrate their piety and to follow the precedent set by the monarch. Philip II knelt before the peace and in 1588, ordered viceroys to do so as well. Later, governors followed the example set by the viceroy.[39] Surely, Bravo y Rivera did not have take issue with kneeling in deference before the main altar, but did resent having to stoop before the prelates who sat upon it. Any sign of weakness could provide the cathedral chapter with an advantage in the court of public opinion, and deference before the priests could also serve as precedence in future petitions to the Council of the Indies. Chapter members could argue, for example, that the governor "customarily" deferred to the superiority of the bishopric's governing council.

In the end, the colonial militia became integrated into the ceremonial life of the city, the governor and cathedral chapter preserved their right to sit in chairs, and prelates administered the peace to a kneeling governor before mass. The conflicts of the 1760s and 1770s highlight the issue of jurisdiction, affirming the causal link between corporate power struggles and ceremonial conflict. But as with the disputes involving the cathedral chapter and the cabildo at the beginning of the century, the disputes of the 1760s and 1770s cannot be understood merely as "jurisdictional conflicts." Clearly, the cabildo

[38] Testimonio de este despacho y pedimento del Ilustre Cabildo y Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de la Puebla, y en virtud de lo mandado por el Excelentísimo Señor Virrey, August 1774, AGN, General del Parte 52, Expediente 114, 111v-116v.
[39] Spain, *Recopilación de leyes*, folio 64r, Book 3, Title 15, Law 10.

chapter challenged the growing power of the governor, the expansion of the militia, and the reforms and regalia of the cathedral chapter, but imperial impositions altered local political culture and precipitated the legal actions taken by the cabildo. The Habsburgs had built jurisdictional tension into the colonial system and this tension manifested itself in public performances, but in the later eighteenth century, the Bourbons expanded the colonial bureaucracy, thereby upsetting the balance of power within the poblano power structure. Adding to these changes, the Crown granted ceremonial privileges to the governor, militia, and cathedral chapter at the expense of councilmen. Marching militiamen took precedence over the processions of the cabildo and councilmen now had to share the honor of sitting upon adorned benches with the leaders of Puebla's provincial militia. While the governor and cathedral chapter sat on chairs, the cabildo continued to use benches, and while officiating priests offered the governor the peace and holy water before mass, prelates only gave councilmen the peace when accompanied by the governor, and never offered holy water. The Crown also made the presence of the governor a condition for the cathedral chapter to use chairs, but the prelates continuously disregarded the order throughout the 1770s. To add insult to injury, while the bishop and chapter members spoke out against the theater and made a series of proscriptions that affected ceremony, chapter members continued to sit on the main altar, literally looking down on councilmen.

During the sixteenth, seventeenth and for most of the eighteenth centuries, ceremonial conflict constituted an integral part of the political culture of Puebla. In the

1760s and 1770s, the Crown enacted changes which brought jurisdictional overlap to the forefront. Before this period, ambiguity served the system; the Council of the Indies maintained channels of communication open, received various reports on the same issue, and forced colonists to rely less on viceroys, councilmen, and archbishops and more on leadership back in Spain. For most of the colonial period, bureaucrats expected jurisdictional conflict and jostled with the same group of rivals during ceremony. In Puebla, the cathedral and cabildo periodically clashed over issues of jurisdiction, but the changes enacted by the Bourbon administration heightened tension. The Crown publicized the cabildo's decline by highlighting the power of the governor during public ceremony. If the cabildo had not been so weakened at the beginning of the century by the increased authority of the *alcalde mayor* Veytia y Linaje, his reform of the *alcabala*, and the subsequent decline of cabildo membership, perhaps councilmen would have complained about Puebla's *alcalde mayor*, Juan de Veytia y Linaje, enjoying the same distinction. By failing to contest the Crown's decision early in the century, the cabildo unwittingly facilitated its later loss of prestige. By successfully protesting Veytia y Linaje's regalia, the cathedral chapter established precedent and when in 1764 Bravo y Rivera claimed the same right, the cathedral chapter followed suit.

Like *alcaldes mayores*, the governors' primary loyalty was to the Crown; by changing the presidents of cabildos into governors, the Crown gained a greater toehold in the political culture of the city. Bravo y Rivera expedited the reform of the city's militias and ensured that councilmen use municipal funds to promote its growth. The military

itself became a contender for prestige, and the cabildo began challenging the corporation's new ceremonial prerogatives. By interfering with the political culture of the city, the Crown upset the tenuous balance of power, escalating jurisdiction into a central issue.

Ceremony could influence society as much as reflect it, and the municipal council, cathedral chapter, and the military used ceremony to wage battles for power. Yet, ritual also reflected society and the cabildo's diminished authority as manifested in public ceremony. Instead of playing a starring role in ceremony, the cabildo now played a supporting part in an ensemble performance.

In 1774, the Council of the Indies made its final judgment in favor of the cathedral chapter. Basing itself on the example set by Mexico City, the Council decided that the cathedral chapter could sit on the main altar when attending functions outside the cathedral. Undeterred by the setback, local councilmen continued to insist on greater ceremonial privileges. In a petition presented before the Council of the Indies, the city's lawyer acknowledged the cathedral's right to sit upon the main altar, but again requested that councilmen be allowed to sit in chairs and asked that prelates be ordered to offer councilmen the peace, regardless of whether the governor stood in attendance. Insulted that the lawyer would ask him to change the ruling, the advisor to the Council placed an order of "perpetual silence" on the matter, thereby preventing councilmen from pressing the issue further.[40] Although the cabildo continued to engage in a variety of public

[40] Francisco Ruíz Malo to the Council of the Indies, Madrid, 5 June 1777, AGI, México 2662, unpaginated.

ceremonies and retained a great deal of authority, it never recouped the symbolic prestige that it had enjoyed earlier in the century.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Through the end of the colonial period, ritual continued to serve as the primary way poblano elites consolidated, maintained, and enhanced their power. Even though José de Gálvez and the *Junta Municipal de Propios y Arbitrios* limited the number of the cabildo's festive obligations and specified the maximum amount that it could spend on various ceremonies, *regidores* continued to allocate a large portion of their yearly budget toward public ritual. Although their power would prove significantly diminished in light of the Bourbon reforms of the bureaucracy and its challenges to ceremonial life, Puebla´s councilmen continued to represent themselves as civic leaders before the city's socially heterogeneous population.

Bourbon administrators, however, became increasingly less tolerant of the cabildo's proclivity for public ritual. In 1789, the Intendant of Puebla, Manuel de Flon, complained to the viceroy that the city's councilmen hardly allowed any religious occasion or public funeral to go by without making a grand appearance in full regalia. He claimed that these frequent and, in his mind, absurd obligations kept councilmen from fulfilling more crucial responsibilities, such as attending cabildo meetings. He believed that the frequency of these events and the councilmen's preference for ceremony over other more pressing duties undermined the cabildo's authority in the eyes of the populace. According to de Flon, the population respected the cathedral chapter more

than the cabildo, and he blamed councilmen's penchant for public ritual for the chapter's increasing popularity.[1]

If the cabildo indeed suffered from a decline in status, it seems likely that the Crown's support of the urban militia and the ceremonial privileges awarded to other corporations likely contributed to the council's loss of prestige. According to Reinhard Liehr, at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the cabildo suffered from rapid turnover. Between 1787 and 1810, the cabildo had eighteen members, a significant amount given that in the early eighteenth century the cabildo only had six *regidores* who attended meetings regularly. Nevertheless, only five of these members inherited their positions from their fathers or fathers-in-law. In Liehr's opinion, this meant that the cabildo no longer functioned as the primary corporation of the ruling elite.[2]

Yet, Liehr also recognized that the cabildo still had powerful residents as members and enjoyed a great deal of authority. As part of a plan to limit the corruption and mismanagement of municipal governments, the Crown ordered cabildos to include honorary, or interim, *regidores* to prevent monopolization by the ruling elite. The cabildo of Puebla, however, had incorporated honorary councilmen within their ranks since the second decade of the eighteenth century. By the last decades of the colonial period, it was the perpetual *regidores* themselves who chose honorary members to serve

[1] Reinhard Liehr, *Ayuntamiento y oligarquía en Puebla, 1787*-1810, vol. 2, trans. Olga Hentschel (Mexico City: SepSetentas, 1976; first published 1971), p. 83.
[2] Reinhard Liehr, *Ayuntamiento y oligarquía en Puebla, 1787*-1810, vol. 1, trans. Olga Hentschel (Mexico City: SepSetentas, 1976; first published 1971), pp. 97-98.

on the council for a term of four years. This reform, then, did little to curb class unity and nepotism.[3]

Things did change, however. By 1806, the cabildo included seven interim *regidores* and the poblano elite now displayed only minimal interest in purchasing positions on the council. In an attempt to make sense of the situation, Manuel de Flon speculated regarding the economic decline of Puebla's most illustrious families. He believed that most could not afford to pay 3,000 pesos, the price for a title of *regidor* in this period.[4] According to Liehr, by the turn of the nineteenth century, it was not the traditional oligarchs who dominated the cabildo, but the nouveaux riche.[5]

But, as noted by de Flon, the most compelling reason for the reduction in cabildo membership was the competition posed by the city's urban militias. The militias had competed with the cabildo for ceremonial prestige in the 1760s and 1770s; militia leaders usurped councilmen's seats inside the cathedral and, as the incident on Saint Francis' day illustrates, marching soldiers prevented the progression of the cabildo's processions. This awoke the ire of Puebla's formidable councilmen, but by the turn of the century, poblano elites had stopped looking at the militia as an enemy, but as a useful, and possibly *primary*, vehicle for social mobility.

The Intendant noted the relative benefits of joining one of the two provincial militias housed in Puebla, or the city's own urban militia. Poblanos did not have to pay to join the militia and the institution afforded a variety of privileges, not least of which

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 99-111.
[4] *Ibid*., p. 103.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 98.

was judicial protection under the *fuero militar*;[6] aspiring poblanos freed themselves from being tried by secular courts by simply joining the militia.[7] Militia officials, moreover, began playing prominent roles in public ceremonies. Tellingly, de Flon noted that the militia had become the most esteemed and prestigious corporation in the city.[8]

When de Flon cited the cabildo's penchant for public ritual as one of the main reasons the corporation lost authority, he was not only simplifying matters, but contradicting his own assessment regarding the competition posed by the urban militia. Although still an important institution in the city, the Crown's impositions and bureaucratic restructuring had seriously weakened the power of the municipal council. Yet, in the face of these changes, councilmen continued to mount their elaborate ceremonies with what the Intendant characterized as unbridled enthusiasm.

While the Crown complained about the cabildo's ceremonial practices, it did not take responsibility for perpetuating the cycle of festivities. José de Gálvez, José Antonio de Areche, and the head of the *Junta Municipal de Propios y Arbitrios,* Francisco Antonio Gallarreta, reduced the cabildo's number of patron saints, but they did not prohibit councilmen from continuing to celebrate ex-patron saints in grand style. The Crown even encouraged, both directly and indirectly, the cabildo to add on several occasions which glorified the king and Bourbon dynasty, such as feast days and birthdays of monarchs. Although the Crown sought to emphasize the majesty of the absolutist

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[6] *Ibid*., p. 104.
[7] For a discussion of the privileges awarded to militia members, see Lyle N. McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar" in New Spain: 1764-1800* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1957).
[8] Reinhard Liehr, *Ayuntamiento y oligarquía en Puebla, 1787*-1810, vol. 2, p. 104.

monarchy through ceremony, administrators provided mixed messages regarding the importance of public ritual to politics and power.

Despite loss of status, councilmen continued to regard the organization and performance of public ceremony as a fundamental component of their political culture. In his study of the cabildo between 1787 and 1810, Liehr concluded that the Crown's efforts to limit the number of festivities and curb ceremonial expenses proved largely pointless.[9] Councilmen continued to allocate exorbitant amounts to public ritual and in line with the new military ethos pervading the colonies, processed in their military style uniforms on a host of occasions throughout the year.

Historians have focused on how ceremony promoted the legitimacy of the colonial system, but after Bourbon administrators began devaluing ceremony as a useful tool of state, why did councilmen insist upon maintaining their ritual practices? The answer lies primarily in the ceremonial behavior and understandings of councilmen in the period preceding the intensification of Bourbon reforms. In eighteenth-century Puebla, councilmen did not regard public ritual as a mere expression of the Crown's authority or as a reflection of their political reality. Rather, ritual represented an inseparable process in the making of their political culture and therefore addressed, and was seen to address, both the needs of the empire and local government.

Ceremony permeated all aspects of municipal politics. It helped councilmen to glorify the legitimacy of the imperial state and Roman Catholic Church, to create a sense of attachment to corporation and city, to exalt their own corporate and individual

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

authority, and to calm anxieties and lessen the possibility of the populace turning on urban leaders. Choreographing ceremonies also provided councilmen, craftsmen, cooks, merchants, and a variety of other service providers with opportunities to make money. By contracting people to help mount their costly celebrations, councilmen extended their hegemony in a concrete and material way. Public rituals, moreover, provided arenas where elites could struggle for power. Councilmen and cathedral chapter members may have squabbled over ceremonial prerogatives as a way of destroying their adversary's reputation in the audiencia or Council of the Indies, but given the amount of altercations during the eighteenth century and their material and political underpinnings, what is clear is that political elites considered instigating ceremonial disputes as an acceptable way to vie for power. At times, councilmen may not have been fully conscious of the implications of these disputes, but they certainly understood ceremony as an extension of the playing field.

Ceremony served high-level administrators and local councilmen well, providing a variety of social and political benefits. Public ceremony worked to solidify bonds between members of the community, inculcate common values or understandings regarding knowledge and experience, and defuse and resolve social conflict. Through public ceremonies, local leaders introduced the public to its king and characterized the monarch as an extender of empire, a benefactor, and a quasi-spiritual leader. Succession ceremonies impressed upon people that regardless of the death of the king, monarchy lived on. While the Crown attacked spending on particularly "local" celebrations, such

as patron saint days, it allowed and even encouraged the cabildo to commemorate other occasions which celebrated the absolutist monarchy. Crown officials made a clear distinction between local events and those that glorified the Crown. When officials trimmed the amount that the cabildo could spend on patron saint days, they actually increased the ceiling on the festivities for the Virgin the Conqueror – an image which purportedly arrived in New Spain with Cortés and therefore glorified colonialism.

In Mexico City and Puebla, Crown officials sought to decrease the amount that the city could spend on viceregal entries, but in Puebla at least, royal directives had little effect. Throughout this period, councilmen continued to recognize the viceroy as a "prince" and used the entry as a way of cementing respect for royal authority. The Crown periodically attempted to curb spending on entrances, eventually limiting the amount to 3,000 pesos, but councilmen consistently surpassed the legal limit. After the end of our period and the intensification of the Bourbon reforms, councilmen continued to spend shocking amounts on the viceregal entry. Although councilmen surely hoped to gain from the viceroy's patronage, they also believed firmly in celebrating authority. This is most clearly illustrated by how councilmen began celebrating the arrival of governors in ways similar to viceroys.

While emphasizing a respect for hierarchy, councilmen did not neglect to celebrate the Roman Catholic Church. Councilmen relied on patron saints to calm fears of natural calamities. They *believed* and as pious practitioners of the faith tried to act as spiritual caretakers and role models for the population. While participating in a host of

religious rituals related to patron saints, councilmen also participated in liturgical events which celebrated membership in the universal Catholic Church, such as Corpus Christi and holy week. These occasions unified poblanos who mainly practiced their faith through disparate religious organizations, such as confraternities. Through their promotion of religious ritual, the cabildo helped to solidify an attachment to the broader Catholic community.

Devotional practices did not only fragment Puebla, but occupation, neighborhood, and ethnicity did so as well. Councilmen contended with an ethnically and socially diverse population, and used public ritual to augment their authority. Ceremony, moreover, also worked to cement class and corporate unit and to promote affection for the *patria chica* and possibly helped promote a distinct civic consciousness.

Yet, in focusing on the utility of ritual for forging social solidarity, I have not lost sight of nuances and changes over time, the ways rituals may have actually sparked conflict, and the variegated ways rituals may have been interpreted by the audience. As Catherine Bell succinctly stated, "A ritual never exists alone." Rather, "for each and every ritual, there is a thick context of social customs, historical practices, and day-to-day routines that, in addition to the unique factors at work in any given moment in time and space, influence whether and how a ritual is performed."[10]

This case study illustrates how the use of ambiguous and multivalent symbolism allowed local leaders to address change and crisis during ceremonies. The meanings that colonists derived from spectacles depended on the given context because, in the words of

[10] Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 171.

Anthony Cohen, ambiguous symbols do not impose on people "the constraints of uniform meaning," but rather "can be made to 'fit' the circumstances of the individual."[11] Because ceremonies depended on ambiguous symbolism, they did not necessarily lead to consensus regarding meaning. Before we can discover how rituals affected the populace, we must first identify the conditions that influenced what organizers intended to convey and what poblanos may have interpreted.[12]

Unlike anthropologists, early modern historians do not have the benefit of interviewing observers of rituals, and rarely find reliable sources that speak to reception. Partially for this reason, Philippe Buc has questioned whether rituals can be analyzed effectively using historical documents, claiming that they do not present events as they unfolded, but rather reveal an author's political motivation for characterizing a specific ritual as successful or unsuccessful.[13] Although one can arguably attribute authorial bias to all historical documents, the knowledge that their patrons would send copies to Spain likely predisposed official observers to exaggerate the success of Spanish succession rites, and historians must accordingly treat these descriptions with care. The relative lack of sources written by spectators or participant-observers also poses challenges, and for

[11] A. P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (Chichester: Ellis Horwood Limited, 1985), p. 18.

[12] My approach follows that recommended by Eric Van Young for historians of "culture." Although Van Young objects to studies that focus exclusively on the political utility (or "function") of public demonstrations, he also cautions against divorcing "readings" of discrete events from an analysis of the broader context. See Eric Van Young, "The New Cultural History Comes to Old Mexico." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79: 2 (1999), pp. 211-247.

[13] Buc focuses specifically on the study of medieval rituals, but many of his criticisms apply easily to the analysis of early modern rituals. He argues, for example, that because historians can never have first-hand experience of many of the rituals described in the documents, they cannot apply contemporary social scientific models to their analysis. See Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

this reason historians must be "site-specific and contextual" in their analysis.[14] Only in this way can scholars unpeel the layers of possible meanings that contemporaries attributed to rituals.

Throughout this study, I have attempted to address the way that poblanos interpreted various rituals. The succession rituals of 1701, for example, while explaining the transition to Bourbon rule, simultaneously addressed a local crisis marked by famine, inflation, epidemic, and political corruption. Philip V was the first Bourbon to assume the throne, but Puebla's rituals cast him as a Habsburg. The tossing of coins to spectators and the royal standard bearer's fêting of plebeians in his home not only underscored the beneficence of the monarch, but also the authority and generosity of his local ministers. Although crucial for establishing the legitimacy of the monarch, imperial ceremonies allowed for broad interpretations that could apply just as easily to the local as to the imperial context. Because of their ability to condense meanings, ceremonies played an important role in the political culture of the city.

During particularly acute moments of distress, religious rituals such as processions of supplication were employed for the intent of placating God, but had the added benefit of easing the anxiety, and possible restlessness of the people. At times, the cabildo seemed to understand this attribute of ritual. When in 1747 the cabildo chose to elect the Most Holy Innocents as patron saints, poblanos who had lost children during the most recent epidemic possibly felt inspired and moved by the council's decision.

[14] *Ibid*., p. 251.

Although reception is difficult to gage, contextual readings of ceremony can help approximate the populace's interpretations.

More central to this study, however, is how councilmen viewed their participation in ritual. Councilmen imparted messages regarding the legitimacy of colonial rule, the authority of the church, and the importance of their city and through their behavior, revealed the integral role that ritual played in their city's political culture. Ritual helped reflect hierarchy, an observation made by many early modern historians. However, it did not serve as a mere reflection of society, but helped forge common understandings and helped individuals and corporations promote their own agendas.

Ritual fed an industry. Given the general poverty of the majority of poblanos in this period, we can speculate regarding what participating in the industry meant to them. The constancy of ceremony surely provided a degree of stability for those involved in the cabildo's elaborate productions. People became invested in the continuation of the system. They expected councilmen to take Saint Joseph or Jesus the Nazarene out on procession during times of crisis, but they also surely expected to gain from the redistribution of the cabildo's wealth. Parishes celebrated feast days for eight days at a time, and vendors made money selling libations and food, musicians got paid, and confraternities received alms for accompanying other confraternities and parishes in their patron saint's processions. Because the cabildo oversaw such an elaborate ceremonial calendar and sponsored a host of extraordinary events, people surely became dependent to varying degrees on the municipal council's frequent spectacles.

While focusing on the symbolic efficacy of ritual and its utility for strengthening the legitimacy of the empire, Church, and local leaders, this study also addresses a relatively neglected aspect of ritual – conflict. Borrowing on anthropologist Victor Turner's concept of "liminality," (the climax of the ritual process where everyday norms and hierarchies are suspended and people are united under a common worldview), scholars have focused great attention on the way rituals fostered solidarity. In her study of Corpus Christi in colonial Mexico City, Linda Curcio-Nagy observed that the procession, with its hierarchical incorporation of ethnicities and corporations not only provided a "mirror of society," but also joined competing groups together in a space where "everyday worries were temporarily suspended."[15] Clara Garcia Ayluardo provided a similar assessment in her discussion of Mexico City's confraternities, stating that periodic processions allowed for symbolic social unity and reduced the potential for conflict.[16]

Yet, Curcio-Nagy, Garcia Ayluardo and others have also noted that ritual embodied a propensity for conflict. The periodic outbursts that occurred have been generally explained by looking at ritual as "symbolic capital." Garcia Ayluardo summed up this position best, arguing that, "In a society that provided few avenues of social mobility, and where official salaries were not attractive, controversy became a battle mainly over symbolic power, prestige, and preeminence in a status-oriented world."[17]

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[15] Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies: Corpus Christi in Colonial Mexico City," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*, ed. William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin and William E. French (Wilmington: SR Books, 1994), p. 3.
[16] Clara García Ayluardo, "A World of Images: Cult, Ritual, and Society in Colonial Mexico City," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance*, p. 79.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Ceremony, however, was not only about symbolic capital, but about material capital, and individual and family verses corporate interests. At times, contenders explained rancorous behavior as a product of jurisdictional tension, but the reasons behind ceremonial disputes proved far more complex.

My findings, however, do not completely belie the functionalist model. The conflicts themselves became highly ritualized, following the pattern of "social dramas" outlined by Turner. In the end, they did serve a function. They contained conflict that otherwise might have exploded, causing irreparable damage to the social and political order. In the presence of a new contending corporation and the increased power of the military governor, elites continued to incite conflict during ritual performances as a way of advancing their positions. Changes in Bourbon policy, however, made this strategy far less effective.

By the 1760s and 1770s, the political climate underwent a significant shift. However much councilmen sought to preserve their standing in the city through ritual contests, the Crown refused to compromise on the privileges awarded to the militia and governor and denied the cabildo comparable liberties. Because the cathedral had effectively established precedent in its dispute with the early eighteenth-century *alcalde mayor*, Juan José de Veytia y Linaje, it also benefited from the Crown's new priorities. When the governor sat in a chair during a public church function, cathedral chapter members did the same. Cabildo members could only look on in disgust.

The implications of this study extend beyond colonial Puebla to other Spanish

American cities, and even to the municipal governments of Europe. For much of the eighteenth century, Puebla's cabildo, as the head of the local body politic, enjoyed similar ceremonial prerogatives as officials in the colonial capital and Madrid. The councilmen of Puebla spoke the same ceremonial idiom as elites in Europe. Most cities turned to classical mythology to extol the virtues of rulers in works of ephemeral art, and in the Spanish Empire, diluted forms of ceremonial privilege extended from the imperial body politic down to local government. Understandings, moreover, transcended the borders of monarchies. Scholars such as J.H. Eliot and Edward Muir have shown how courts borrowed symbolically from one another. Louis XIV of France, for example, modeled his public persona as the "Sun King" on Philip II of Spain's representation of himself as the "Planet King."[18] Ideas and behaviors trickled down and found fertile ground in the colonies. Colonial leaders not only borrowed from ritual symbolism typical of European court life, they also transformed their city during viceregal entrances into "mini-courts." They understood that they shared some of the same ceremonial privileges enjoyed by kings and viceroys, and jealously guarded these at all costs.

Puebla's councilmen shared in a trans-Atlantic political culture and expressed their authority in ways similar to those of other corporations of the *ancién regime.* Spanish Americans engaged in extravagant public displays, replete with European finery, jewels and other symbols of status, as a way of demonstrating their inclusion within the

[18] J.H. Elliot, "The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs: A peculiar institution?," in *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 142-161; Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 257.

world of the imperial elite. By engaging in cultural mimesis, councilmen helped maintain a cultural bridge between the Old World and the New.

Yet, colonial elites may have taken their enthusiasm for public spectacle farther than their counterparts in the Old World. Anthony Pagden has argued that creole patricians spent less money on public works and the administration of their cities than on elaborate public ceremonies. Their authority "rested upon its identity as a group of urban aristocrats who comprised the community's natural leaders, and the most effective demonstration of that identity was their ability to stage astounding public festivals that left no one in any doubt about the independence of their political power." They took pride in conspicuous displays of wealth possibly to, as Pagden suggests, assert their equality with the elite of Europe.[19]

Although quite probable, the relative degree to which colonial elites valued ceremony in comparison to their European contemporaries is still far from clear. What is certain, however, is that the poblano elite shared in a ceremonial culture which blurred the boundaries between the colonies and spanned the Atlantic Ocean. The cabildo's staging of Corpus Christi as the Crown's "triumph" over non-Christian people is highly reminiscent of the way early modern Spaniards and *cusqueños* performed the rite. The Crown ordered cities throughout the empire to celebrate the same calendar of ceremonies, distinguished from their own pantheon of patron saints. Obviously, this helped create an imperial political culture which found expression in public demonstrations. The

[19] Anthony Pagden, "Identity Formation in Spanish America," in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 51-93.

cabildo's ardent attempts to imitate ceremonial practices in the Old World also illustrates that this process did not only work from the top down. Poblano elites actively sought inclusion in a trans-Atlantic political culture.

The case of Puebla testifies to the central role that ritual played in eighteenth-century political culture. Not only did ritual promote shared identities and understandings regarding power and inequality, but it also stimulated the economy and helped elites vie for power. Just as important for the promotion of imperial objectives as local objectives, ritual constituted "real" political work.

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